

ADDRESS

William Pratt.

TO THE

1706.

NOBILITY AND GENTRY

OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, AS BY LAW
ESTABLISHED.

Explaining the real Causes of the Commotions and Insurrections in the Southern Parts of this Kingdom, respecting TITHES.

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The real Motives and Designs of the Projectors and Abettors of those Commotions and Insurrections :

AND CONTAINING

A candid Inquiry into the Practicability of substituting any other Mode of Subsistence and Maintenance for the Clergy of the Church established, consistent with the Principles of Reason and Justice, in the Place of TITHES.

BY A LAYMAN.

Patrick Duignan, L.L.D. late F.T.C.D.

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M,DCC,LXXXVI.



TO THE
NOBILITY AND GENTRY
OF THE
CHURCH OF IRELAND,
AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE late violent and unwarrantable attacks, made on the property of the Ministers of the Gospel of the reformed Church of this Nation; and the libellous Publications, every day circulated in the publick Prints, against our Church Establishment, have been hitherto unparalleled in any period since the Revolution: the outrages of the White Boys, about 18 or 20 years ago, were not particularly directed against the Clergy of the established Church; they were equally level-

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led against oppressive landlords. The perpetrators of them, suggested several real or imaginary grievances, as the causes of their violent proceedings; but the present Insurgents in the South of this kingdom, openly profess themselves to be Papists, who assemble at their respective Mass-Houses, and bind themselves by solemn oaths, at the feet of their Altars, to abolish Tithes, or to establish some very inadequate modus or commutation in their place, that is, as I shall hereafter shew, in effect, to annihilate this, almost only support and subsistence, of all the Parochial Clergy, Rectors, Vicars, and Curates, throughout this kingdom: and to put this their new solemn league and covenant, in case of resistance or disobedience to their mandates, into execution, by Fire and Sword. Observing that the extent of the mischief of this scheme, if carried into execution, is not fully understood; I have taken up my pen, with the view of explaining the evil which must ensue, in case this Popish Banditti shall be suffered to proceed to its completion, that is, the utter subversion of the Constitution in Church and State. In executing my design, I shall *first* wash away the false colouring, under which these insurgents (or more properly their secret and insidious abettors) endeavour to conceal or palliate their designs and
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proceedings, and make them palatable to unwary Protestants; to wit, a charge of oppression and exaction on the established Clergy, their Agents, and Proctors: and a charge, artfully thrown in, of exaction on their own Clergy; with which, whether true or false, we have nothing to do; but by making it, they aim at the character of impartiality, like the Mock Doctor in the Farce, who excuses his beating his Wife, by telling her, that when he beats her, he beats half himself—*Secondly*, I shall shew, that the abolition or reduction of tithe by law, as this nation is situated, will be in effect a translation of property from the Clergy of the Established Church to the Popish Ecclesiasticks—*Thirdly*, That the abolition or reduction of tithe, will encrease, instead of diminishing, the burthens of the real landholder and farmer.—*Fourthly*, That the present method of raising a maintenance for the national Clergy, by payment of tithe, in the manner it is by law payable, is the properest mode of raising a maintenance for them; and that it is difficult, and almost impracticable, to substitute any other mode of subsistence in its place, consistent with justice and reason; under which head, I shall consider the Scheme of a Modern Projector, relative to the Collection of Tithe.—*Fifthly*, That the methods of recovering tithe by the law of the land, as

it now stands, from those who unjustly withhold or subtract it, have been devised with great equity and moderation, and are neither vexatious, oppressive, nor expensive.—And *sixtly* and *lastly*, I shall conclude with some observations, tending to shew, the cause, rise, and progress of the present disturbances relative to tithe, and to prove that the most trifling compliance by the Legislature of this Country, with the insolent factious demands and pretensions of a Popish Banditti, spirited up by agitating Fryars and Romish Missionaries, sent here for the purposes of sowing sedition, is as inconsistent with justice, as it is with sound policy, and the safety of this Protestant State : and that our Religious Establishment is the main pillar of our Constitution, which cannot be pulled down without the ruin of the whole Structure of our Government.

And first, The exactions and oppressions charged on the Clergy of the Established Church by the present Insurgents, relate only to Predial Tithe, which is, the clear tenth part of the annual produce of the earth, when severed from it ; to this the Rector of each parish, (unless it should be an impropriation of which I shall speak hereafter) is intitled by the common law of the land. It is unnecessary for me here, to enter into any Disquisition, concerning the nature of the title of
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the Clergy to Tithe, whether it be derived from divine or human law; for I shall not insist on any title to Tithe in the Clergy, except that title which is vested in them by the municipal law of the land. The Rector of a parish then, has a title to demand and receive, from the farmer or occupier of the land, by the common law of the land, coeval with our constitution, one full tenth part of the yearly produce of the land, as Predial Tithe, whether it consists of corn, hay, roots, or other vegetables. This title in the Clergyman, is antecedent to the title of any land-owner in this kingdom, and is founded on the same law of the land, which secures to the land-owner the possession and enjoyment of his estate; and is a title so well known, and confessed, by all persons conversant with our laws, that it is unnecessary to speak further concerning its validity. In ancient times, when the use of money was little known, either in this kingdom or in England; the landlords rent, as well as the Tithe, was paid in kind, that is, was paid in the produce of the earth, of which the landlord and parson consumed as much as they had occasion for, and bartered the rest, for such other commodities, in the possession of others, as they stood in need of. In process of time, when commerce had introduced money, which became the
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common standard to measure the value of all commodities by, and an established equivalent, for which all commodities were exchanged, landlords began to reserve, and receive their rents in money : and the Clergyman and Parishioner also found mutual advantage, the one in receiving the value of his tenth part of the produce of the earth, and the other in paying it, in money. The advantage of this agreement always lay, and, from the nature of the transaction, must always lie, on the side of the Parishioner, for the Clergyman, must always sell to the Parishioner, at less than the value of the tenth part ; because if the Clergyman should demand a sum equal to the value of the tenth part, it is in the power of the Parishioner to tell the Clergyman, he will not buy the tenth, and to sever it from the nine parts, and set it out for him ; the Clergyman is then under the necessity of taking the tenth part in kind, carrying it away, and sending it to market, which in the present state of things, and in the best regulated police, must be troublesome and inconvenient to him ; and if he has many Parishioners, who have small farms, is impracticable ; so that the Parishioner is always sure of buying his Tithe from the Clergyman at an under value.— If the Clergyman should even desire to take his Tithe in kind, and refuse to sell
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it to the Farmer, still the Farmer has the advantage ; for the Farmer is himself to sever the tenth, from the nine Parts, and to set it out ; and he will always take care ; that the Part which he sets out as Tithe shall not exceed the tenth of the whole. Hence it is evident to demonstration, that in the collection of Predial Tithe in kind, or in the making of agreements for the sale of it, with the Farmer, it is absolutely impossible, that any Clergyman, his Proctor, Agent, or Lessee, can exercise any exaction or oppression whatsoever : the Clergy, in this respect, are the only persons in the community, who cannot by any art or ingenuity, levy more than the real amount of their demands : and it is notorious throughout this kingdom, that the Clergy in general, do not actually receive, one third of the real value of their Predial Tithe, that is, the thirtieth part of the value of the whole ; and that no Clergyman whatsoever, his Proctor, Agent, Manager, or Lessee, let him, or they, be ever so avaricious, or griping, actually receive, or are paid, the one half of the value of the tenth, by way of composition for it, with the farmer. Though every farmer in this kingdom is conscious of the truth of this assertion, and that it holds good in respect to all Predial Tithes, yet to dis-

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abuse such persons, as are not Land Occupiers themselves, who may be misled by the present clamours of exaction and oppression in the Clergy, I shall mention one species of Predial Tithes only; and the usual rates of composition for it, that is the tithe of potatoes. In the southern parts of this kingdom, immense tracts are laid out for pasture grounds, for the feeding of oxen; tillage is consequently neglected, and the poorer sort of people generally subsist on potatoes. The House of Commons in a former Parliament in this Kingdom, had usurped and exercised, a most arbitrary and tyrannical power, over the liberty and property of the Subject, a power which was never claimed or exercised by any of our Monarchs, by their votes alone, they actually imprisoned and plundered the Subject, and illegally robbed him at once, of his Liberty and Estate, during this domination, a vote passed this House, that no Tithe of Agistment should be paid throughout this Kingdom; and that every Clergyman who should presume to appeal to the laws, for the recovery of the Tithe of Agistment should be deemed an enemy to his country, that is, (according to the practice of the tyranny then exercised) should be imprisoned for life in a loathsome dungeon; without the least prospect or hope of redress. This vote, which was
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carried in this House of Commons, by the interest of certain men, who had depopulated large tracts of land, and converted them into pasturage, so intimidated the Clergy, that none of them dared to vindicate his Property by due course of Law; and the whole body, was at once robbed, of so much of their legal maintenance, as the Tithe of Agistment, that is, the tenth part of the clear gains of the Grazier, on the sale of his fat cattle, amounted to; in direct defiance of the known Law of the Land. In the South of Ireland therefore, particularly in the Counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork and Tipperary, where fat Oxen cover the greatest part of the plains, and the vallies; Heath and Bogs the mountains; the clergyman must derive the principal part of his maintenance, from the scanty part, allotted by the great Landholders, to the culture of Potatoes. It is a fact which cannot be disputed, that these great Landholders, set a part of their great farms every year by the acre, to the poorer sort of the Peasantry, to plant Potatoes in. The Peasant hires an acre, or two acres, or perhaps a part of an acre, from one of these Landholders, for such part of one year only, as affords him time sufficient, to plant Potatoes in the plot of ground so hired by him, and to dig out the crop, at the enormous price

of eight pounds sterling by the acre; and so rateably for a less quantity, than an acre. This price is sometimes reduced to six guineas by the acre, according to the quality of the ground: It must be admitted, that no Peasant, rating his labour, manure, and seed reasonably, can possibly cultivate an acre of Potatoes properly, at less cost than that of four pounds, hence it is evident, that his crop on an acre planted with Potatoes, must amount in value to the sum of twelve pounds, otherwise all his Pains and Labour are lost: and surely it must be admitted, that the value of the crop must amount to much more, otherwise the Peasantry would not waste their time and labour in so unprofitable an employment. The Clergyman is undoubtedly by the common law of the land entitled to the tenth part of this crop, after it is dug from the earth by the cultivator, this tenth to be set out either by measure or weight. Now what sum are the Clergy universally, throughout the whole Province of Munster, where the principal part of their subsistence arises from the Tithe of Potatoes, contented to accept of from the Cultivator, for this their tenth part of the crop of an acre of Potatoes? The largest sum I have ever heard to be demanded by a Parson, his Proctor, or Lessee for the Tithe of an acre of Potatoes,

toes, throughout that whole Province (and I have had the most accurate information on the subject) is the sum of twelve shillings only, and the price varies in different parishes, from the sum of twelve shillings, down to five shillings; which last sum, or a sum very little exceeding it, is much more generally accepted by the Parson; so that on an average, it may be confidently asserted, that throughout the whole Province of Munster, no greater sum, than the sum of seven or eight shillings by the acre, is *demanded* by the Parson for the price of his Tithe of an acre planted with Potatoes; and if we take into consideration, that the measurement of the land is very far from being accurate, the Parson having no right to enter on it, and measure it, and being under the necessity therefore, of taking its dimensions from the Cultivator, who will take care not to over-rate it; that every species of deceit to circumvent the Parson, to induce him to sell his tenth at an under-rate, to conceal from him the real amount of the Tithe, to defraud him in the sale as much as possible, and after all to withhold the payment of the sum agreed upon, is practised by the Irish Farmers; we may safely affirm, that the Parson does not actually receive the fourth part of the value of the Tithe of Potatoes,

toes, that is, the fortieth part of the value of the whole ; and what I have mentioned respecting the Tithe of Potatoes, holds equally good in respect to all other Predial Tithes. It was in the last Session asserted in one of the Houses of Parliament, in a debate on a bill relative to Tithes, that the sum of twenty-eight shillings had been exacted for the Tithe of one acre of Potatoes, in a particular part of the Province of Munster. This fact I enquired into, and I shall here give a state of the matter, which can be fully proved by the most indisputable authority, if necessary. A Farmer in the Province of Munster, and the Incumbent of his Parish, could not agree on the sum to be paid by the Farmer for the purchase of the Tithe of an acre of Potatoes, the Incumbent demanding eight shillings, the Farmer refusing to give him more than six ; the Farmer dug his crop of Potatoes out of the ground, and carried it away, without setting out the tenth part for the Incumbent ; and the Incumbent sued him for the subtraction in the Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese ; the cause came regularly on to be heard, and the value of the crop of the acre of Potatoes was proved by incontrovertible evidence, to amount to fourteen pounds sterling ; and sentence was given, that the Farmer should pay to the Incumbent

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twenty-eight shillings, being the tenth part of the value of the crop, as proved in the cause. The Ecclesiastical Judge was bound by his duty, and his oath, in this case, to pronounce such a sentence; because Ecclesiastical, as well as other Judges, are bound to decree, *Secundum Allegata et Probata*, that is, according to what is alledged and proved in the cause; and if this cause had been heard in the Court of Exchequer, and such proofs, as I have mentioned, had been made in that Court, there must have been a similar decree. Where then is the hardship in this case? and who was the oppressor? the farmer, who refused to buy the Tithe of the crop from the Parson, at less than one third of the value, and then subtracted the Tithe of the whole, and compelled the Parson, to resort to the law, for the recovery of a just demand; or the Parson, who offered to take less than one third of the value of his property, in lieu of the whole, for Peace Sake? Surely this is a question which answers itself; and surely that member of the legislative body, who adduced this as an instance of oppression, was unacquainted with the nature of the case. In the course of last winter, an incumbent of a Parish in the Diocese of Dublin, was obliged to sue one of his Parishoners in the Ecclesiastical Court, for the subtraction of the Tithe of Corn
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and Hay. It appeared in evidence in the cause, that the incumbent had made a verbal agreement with the Parishoner, to let him have the Tithes of his farm during his incumbency, at the annual rent of three pounds or thereabouts; and that this rent had been paid to the Parson for some years; that the Parishoner, in the year preceding the institution of the suit, had refused any longer to abide by the agreement, and had subtracted the Tithe from the Parson, without making him any compensation for it, and the value of the Tithe subtracted was fully and incontrovertibly proved to amount, to the sum of fifteen pounds sterl. and upwards, for which sum the Parson obtained a decree. I mention this last transaction, to furnish the advocates of the present Insurgents, with another instance of oppression, and exaction in the Clergy! On the whole then, it must be concluded, by every unprejudiced person, that the established Clergy, being entirely deprived of the Tithe of Agistment, by which the greatest part of the pasturage land in this kingdom (as I may stile it emphatically) of Graziers, is at once exempted from the payment of any Tithe; and being paid scarce a fourth part of the value of Predial Tithes, do not in general receive the *eightieth* part of the annual produce of the earth; that is, in general, they do not receive one eighth part of that
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maintenance and subsistence, to which they are at least as well entitled by the law of the land, as any layman whatsoever is to the receipt of the rents of his estate: that the present clamours raised against the established Clergy of oppression and exaction, are not only quite groundless, but that it is absolutely out of their power, either by themselves, their Proctors, Agents, or Lessees, (were they so inclined) to exercise any oppression or exaction in the collection of their Tithes: and that instead of being the oppressors they are the oppressed, and the only set of men under his Majesty's Government, who are defrauded and despoiled of their properties, and have been uniformly so, without redress, for a long course of years, by violence, outrage, and the most flagrant acts of injustice.

It is now time to take a view of the constituent parts, behaviour, and demands of this Banditti, who have risen up, avowedly for the purpose, of rooting out the established Clergy of this realm by Fire and Sword, and whose manifestoes and exploits are daily, with an air of triumph and exultation, circulated in our publick prints (which by the bye are almost all under the management of, or published by, Popish Printers) and of the curious exhortations, and addresses, made by the same channels, to these ruffians,
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under the avowed signatures of persons, universally known to be Romish Fryars and Missionaries.

As to the constituent parts of this rabble, I shall take my account of them, from their own manifesto, lately very industriously published in all the News Papers, entitled a letter to the Right Hon. Silver Oliver Esq. purporting to have been agreed on, and composed at a general meeting, and signed William O'Driscoll, stiling himself Secretary to all the Munster Peasantry, on behalf of the afore-said Peasantry.* In this letter they set forth, that they are all Peasants, and that they are all Papists, for in one passage in it, they state, that one *O'Leary* has informed them, *as plain as Friar could*, that God would not confine his salvation to one sect alone, and that the best title to the Crown is *the election of the People*, then this Popish Peasantry honour the established Clergy of this realm, with the title of *decimating leeches*; and declare, that if the Legislature will, by a law, exonerate them from paying Tithes, or establish such composition, as they prescribe, for them; they will be *hereafter* loyal subjects; and conclude with a list of

* This Letter will be found at large, at the end of this Pamphlet, as it was published in all the Newspapers throughout the kingdom; and also in all the English Prints, in the month of August last.

of sums, and of different kinds of Predial Tithes; declaring themselves determined, hereafter not to pay any greater sums in lieu of those Tithes; and to bind themselves to the observance of such determination by a voluntary oath: They then add, by way of a blind, to prevent Protestants from taking the alarm, at this attack made on the maintenance and support of their Clergy, by a Popish Peasantry, in open defiance of the established law of the land; a list of sums, which they declare themselves resolved to pay in future to their own Clergy, for performing the several offices of their religion. I cannot dismiss this insolent Declaration of War against the established Religion of the Country, by a Confederacy of armed Papists, without a few remarks upon it; I say, against the established Religion of the Country; because I shall hereafter demonstrate, that this attempt, if successful, must end in the total expulsion of all the Clergy of the established Church from this kingdom, and consequently in the subversion of the established Religion.

And *first*, it is plain from the stile of it, that it was not written by a Peasant, but by some dangerous Incendiary of another Rank; probably enough by the Fryar, *with the barbarous Sirname*, mentioned in this Manifesto, to be the instructor of the Peasantry in religion and politicks; if

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there really be such a person ; if not, by some other Popish Missionary.—*Secondly*, That it breathes, the most insolent and daring spirit, of Revolt, and Resistance to all legal authority, thinly covered in some places with the gauze of humility, much in the stile of the robber in the play, who tells the lady, holding a pistol to her head ; madam, I would not alarm you for the world, I entreat you not to be in the least uneasy ; deliver your purse, or I'll blow your brains out. *Thirdly*, That the doctrine mentioned therein to be taught by the Fryar, in respect to religion, is diametrically opposite to the known, avowed, and established doctrine of the Romish Church ; and such as no Priest of that Church dare Preach ; this therefore was deceitfully thrust into the Manifesto, by way of convincing Protestants, that if they will patiently suffer their Clergy to be rooted out, and quietly submit to the establishment of Popery, and the abolition of the reformed Religion ; Papists will not burn them as heretofore for Hereticks ; the established doctrine of the Romish Church being ; that Hereticks (that is, all who are not Papists) being devoted Victims of everlasting Fire in the next World, ought to be burned by every good Christian (that is every good Papist) in this World ; because, by such conduct, they will manifest themselves to be humble imitators
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of the Almighty. *Fourthly*, That the political doctrine of the Fryar, mentioned in the same Paper, is a very dangerous doctrine, and utterly inconsistent with our constitution, to wit, *that the Election of the Subject is the best Title to the Crown.* This was thrown in, partly, because it is an agreeable and flattering doctrine to the Mob; but principally to insinuate to Protestants, that the Papists of this country, are no longer the Partizans of those Branches of the Royal Family, which have been excluded from all succession to the Crown, for being Papists. Papists being, by Act of Parliament, for ever disabled and incapacitated from swaying the sceptre of this Nation, or of Great Britain. Which incapacity extends to other Royal Papists, both of the French and Sardinian Houses, inheritable in direct succession, as well as to the descendants of the late King James the Second. How sincere such professions of a Popish Confederacy are, and how rigidly they would be adhered to, in case Papists should be able to make themselves complete masters of this kingdom, I leave it to all reasonable Protestants to judge: but the pernicious part of this political doctrine of the Fryar, is, the insinuation, that our Crown is elective, that the electors are the *People at large*, *that is, the Papists of this kingdom*, who, it must be confessed, compose the Mass

of the People ; and that consequently, our Monarch, being entitled to his crown, by the election of the people, (that is of the Papists) may at any time be deprived of his Crown, by the same power that gave it, and a Popish Sovereign elected in his place ; nay, that the same power may abolish Monarchy, and set up a democratical form of Government in its room ; a doctrine which the framer of the manifesto, thought would be agreeable to all such Protestants, or others, as wished for a Republican Form of Government ; who perhaps would not at first consider, that any Democratical Form of Government in Ireland, must necessarily be a Popish Government ; because the Papists compose the mass of the people. Thank Heaven ! this doctrine is as false as it, is wicked : We have no such, *worse than Polish*, constitution. Our Crown is, and has been, for centuries, worn by our Monarchs by hereditary right, and in hereditary succession. It is true, this hereditary succession is, and may be, limited by the Supreme Authority of the State, that is, by the King, Lords and Commons, and particular qualifications may be thereby required in the successive branches of the Royal Family, the want of which may exclude intermediate branches from the succession, and direct that a remoter branch should succeed,

succeed, as if the intermediate branches were dead. This is a power which was always exercised by the Supreme Legislative Authority, and reason, justice, and necessity require the exercise of it. The great grandfather of his present Majesty (whose precious life may the Almighty long preserve) succeeded to the Throne of these Realms of Great Britain and Ireland, as the heir of the Princess Sophia, daughter and heir of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, who was daughter of King James the 1st. The descendants of King Charles the 1st. the only son of King James the 1st. having all, either died without issue, or become Papists, and Papists being by Act of Parliament excluded for ever from inheriting the Imperial Crown of these Realms. The last of the Protestant descendants of King Charles the 1st. was Queen Ann, who died without issue, and Papists being excluded from the Crown, it devolved in a regular course of succession on his present Majesty's great grandfather, King George the 1st. on the death of Queen Ann, as the next inheritable Protestant branch of the Royal Family : and from him it has descended in regular succession to his present Majesty, the Father of his People, in whose Illustrious Race may it continue as long as this earth endures.—Thus much I have thought

thought fit to say, to put Protestants on their guard against the dangerous political doctrines, and insinuations of Popish Friars, the tendency and extent of which they may not at first foresee. And I would warn this Friar himself, and all other agitating Friars, to beware of intermeddling with the politics of this Protestant State; because it may happen, that Protestants will, some time or other, take the alarm, and these agitators may receive the crown of Martyrdom, and become Saints in the Romish Calendar, like Saint * *Sheeby*, by the agency of the hangman, as the glorious reward of their indefatigable labours in disturbing the State: a very different reward from that, which they fondly expect for their industry! The *fifth* observation I shall make on this factious paper is, that it contains general complaints of grievances, without particularly specifying what these grievances are, because if these confederated Papists openly declared, that they would not pay Tithes to the Established Clergy, perhaps Protestants in general might be alarmed: But from the complaints that

* An infamous and turbulent Popish Priest, a leader of the White Boys, who about twenty years ago was hanged for his rebellious practices at Cloamell, and is now reputed a Saint, and a Martyr, by the Popish Peasantry.

that the fruits of their industry are torn from them, from their virulence against the Established Clergy, and from their resolutions at the bottom of the paper, the last of which is, that they will bind themselves by a solemn oath, to observe the regulations, relating to a Modus in lieu of Predial Tithes, which by virtue of their own usurped authority, they there think fit to prescribe, it is sufficiently evident, that the payment of any species of Tithes, or any thing in lieu thereof, to the Protestant Clergy, is the grievance of which they complain, and that the moderation of the Protestant Clergy, in accepting about one eighth part of their legal dues (as I have before shewn) instead of the whole, so far from contenting a Popish Peasantry, only encourages them to attempt the depriving them of the whole. It is also sufficiently evident, that even the Modus prescribed by them in lieu of Predial Tithes, is only inserted to cover their real design, of utterly extirpating the Protestant Clergy: For if a Popish Mob had roundly declared, that they would not pay any Tithe whatsoever, nor any thing in lieu of it, to the Protestant Clergy, the design would have been manifest; the whole body of Protestants, and the State, would immediately take the alarm, and they would instantly be suppressed, they, or rather

rather their advisers and abettors, thought it more prudent, that they should appear willing to pay some trifling sums, by way of composition for Predial Tithes, which would ingratiate them, and make their cause more palatable, with the lower and more ignorant Protestants, and the various Tribes of Sectaries; who without once considering, how far the design, in general, would contribute to establish Popery, grudgingly enough contribute to the maintenance of the established Clergy; and willingly adopt any scheme for their suppression. This further appears, from the cautious terms, in which the form of the oath contained in this paper, and which these Insurgents require to be taken by all persons, is couched, they are not to swear, that they will pay the sums specified in this paper, as a composition for the several species of Predial Tithes therein mentioned, and no others: they are only to swear, that they will not pay any greater sum as a composition for any species of Tithe, than what is therein contained: by which form of swearing, they avoid to bind themselves to pay the sums specified in lieu of Tithes; and thus Jesuitically deceive the unwary into a belief, that they are only endeavouring to establish a Modus in lieu of Tithes, when they really design utterly to abolish them. Conformable
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able to this construction of their affociation and oath, has been the practice of these Insurgents; for in the parts of the country where they are most numerous, particularly in the county of Cork, they absolutely refuse to pay any sum whatsoever in lieu of Tithes, or to pay the Tithes in kind: as some Clergymen in that country, who weakly enough submitted to accept of the sums prescribed in their resolutions, have experienced.

I shall now exhibit to the reader a view of the conduct of these Insurgents, in enforcing their resolutions: the barbarity they use can hardly be paralleled, even amongst the savages in North America. The public prints daily teem with accounts of their inhuman Outrages, against the persons of the established Clergy, their Proctors, and Agents; and against all such persons, as presume to act in any manner, contrary to their resolutions; and these accounts are published with much apparent satisfaction, by the several Popish Printers in the City of Dublin. It is irksome to me to repeat their cruelties; cutting off Noses and Ears, burying people in pits up to the Chin, half filled with broken Glass and Bryars, ramming the clay into the pits on the unfortunate Victims, and leaving them there to perish: tearing off the Flesh of others with Wool-Cards; erecting Gallowses in several

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parts of the country, hanging some thereon, and leaving written Labels affixed, containing the names of the most respectable Clergymen, and others, whom they intend to hang thereon—the offences committed by the objects of their rage, are, the assisting the Clergyman, in viewing and valuing his Tithes, lending him a Horse or a Cart to draw Tithes in kind, when the Farmer has refused to give him any compensation for them; or agreeing to give the Clergyman more than the sums prescribed in their manifestoes, for the purchase of the Tithes. The outrages against the property of such as fall under their displeasure are not less violent, the setting fire to dwelling Houses and Barns, the killing and destroying the Cattle of all persons obnoxious to this Banditti, are frequent and notorious; insomuch, that if vigorous measures to suppress these savage Insurgents, are not pursued and continued, with perseverance and activity, it may be reasonably predicted, that this kingdom will become, as in the time of the infamous Irish Massacre, one universal scene of bloodshed, rapine, and desolation.

I have observed and read several addresses to these Insurgents, inserted in the publick prints, many of them, under the affected disguise of recommending moderation to them, holding out to them
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the greatest encouragement to proceed in their outrages. None of these addresses attracted my notice so much, as some signed—*O'Leary*. I had before observed, several wretched essays, both for stile and matter, in the publick prints, with the same signature: And I should have totally overlooked these addresses, when I saw the signature, as unworthy of notice, had not the title attracted me, and induced me to read them. Whether the writer signs his real name, or makes use of the fictitious signature of *O'Leary* I know not; but surely these addresses, notwithstanding the dullness and ignorance of the author, deserve some animadversion, from the turbulent, factious, and insolent spirit they breathe, though couched in all the terms of humility, which low breeding, and a species of little cunning, the common talent of the vulgar, the dull, and the illiterate, can plentifully furnish; in these addresses, the author pathetically laments, the manifold oppressions and grievances, under which the Insurgents labour, but cautiously avoids specifying what these grievances and oppressions are; and after inflaming the minds of the vulgar, as far as his wretched abilities can extend, with all the common place stuff of oppression, exaction, tyranny, persecution, &c. &c. and after endeavouring to persuade them,

that they are the most wretched and miserable beings on the face of the earth, and that their Task Masters hold them in worse than Egyptian bondage, still dealing in general declamation, he advises them to bear their oppressions with patience, until the meeting of Parliament, and that then all their grievances will be redressed, that is, he first goads the populace to madness, and then exhorts them to patience, when he has rendered them incapable of listening to any exhortation. He tells them, they have just cause for committing all the outrages they have committed, and by way of screening himself from punishment, for his factious publications, he throws in a feeble exhortation to them, to submit to the laws, as they at present stand, till the meeting of Parliament, and then insolently undertakes to assure them, that Parliament will overturn the ancient laws, constitution, and religion of the state, and legalize all the resolutions of, this rebellious Popish Mob, by enacting them into laws. And as he plainly enough insinuates, that Parliament will be induced so to do, through mere terror of the power and fury of the Insurgents, he, by such insinuation, holds out to them the strongest encouragement to extend their confederacy, and continue their outrages, and
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with true jesuitical duplicity, talks of peace and obedience to the laws, whilst he is really blowing the trumpet of rebellion. Let us now examine, what the grievances and oppressions are, of which this writer promises the annihilation by parliamentary authority, but which, as I have already observed, he cautiously avoids expressly to mention, the only grievances or oppressions complained of by the Insurgents, are exactions in the collection of Tithes, by the established Clergy, and exactions by their own secular Clergy or parish Priests, for performing the several rites of their religion. I have already shewn to a demonstration, that the established Clergy cannot, were they so inclined, exact more than their legal dues from any person whatsoever; and that they do not in general receive above one eighth part of their legal dues, the rest being subtracted from them by violence and fraud. This writer therefore has the impudence to promise the Insurgents, that the Protestant Parliament, of this Protestant State, will by law support the fraud and violence of a Popish Mob, and through terror of their power, further reduce or annihilate the pittance, which the Clergy of the established Church are compelled to accept of from them, in lieu of that support and maintenance, to which, by common
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and statute law, they are at present intitled: and to fill up the measure of the insolence of this scribler, he professes himself to be a Popish Friar, who thus undertakes the destruction of the established Church, by Authority of Parliament.

With respect to the exactions pretended to be complained of by the Insurgents, as if practised by their own secular Clergy, this Friar cannot promise them, that they will be relieved therefrom, by any act of the Legislature, they have the remedy in their own power, for they are not, by the law of the land, obliged to pay their Priests any thing, and it depends merely on their own choice, whether they will pay them any thing or not. So that, when the Fryar promises the Insurgents redress of their grievances by the Authority of Parliament, his sole meaning is, that Parliament will abolish, or further reduce, the maintenance and support of the Parochial Clergy of the established Church. As to the complaints contained in this manifesto, of exactions by the Popish Clergy, it is manifest, that they have been stuffed into it, to prevent Protestants from taking the alarm, at this attack on their Clergy by a Popish Mob; the Insurgents tell you, we have risen up to restrain the greediness of every species
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of Clergy, Priests are always rapacious and we intend to abridge the emoluments of our own Priesthood, as well as yours, you cannot suppose, that we mean to extirpate your Clergy from the kingdom, when we treat them only as we do our own. The deceit of such Professions must be evident to every Protestant who will consider, what a new practice, this is amongst Papists, for the populace to reform the Clergy. Protestants know to their cost, that the popish populace are entirely under the influence of their Priests : but when a Protestant reflects, that Popish Ecclesiasticks are not, by the law of the land, entitled to demand any thing whatsoever, from the individuals of their sect, and that each popish layman, may give as much or as little as he pleases to his Priest, surely it is evident, that it is not necessary for the popish laity, to form any confederacy, ratified by a solemn oath, to regulate payments, which before were merely voluntary ; such confederacy and oath in a manner binding the popish laity to pay as a duty to their Priests, that which was before considered a charitable and pious donation, and received as a benevolence. It may be perhaps here objected, that the popish parish Priests, levied certain sums from their Parishoners, by a sort of compulsion, by denying to perform certain religious

religious rites for them, unless at stipulated prices; and that they taught their respective congregations, that they were in conscience bound to pay these sums, and that consequently it was necessary, to reduce those sums, by a general confederacy, strengthened by an oath: but to this I answer, *first*, that this kingdom unhappily abounds with mendicant Romish Fryars, who subsist like Methodist Teachers, on the superstition of the vulgar of their persuasion, and that these Fellows are constantly at hand, ready to undersell the parish Priests, in the vending of their trumpery: so that a parish Priest, is so far from being able, to raise the rates on his congregation, by denying to perform his function for them, unless at arbitrary prices settled by himself, that he is frequently obliged to lower them, when a cunning Fryar is in his neighbourhood, under the penalty of starving. *Secondly*, That if the popish laity, are taught to believe, that they are bound in conscience to pay stipulated sums to their Priests, for the performance of certain religious ceremonies, though they should by force or persuasion, be induced to swear, that they would not in future pay such stipulated sums, yet their consciences would soon tell them, and the Priests, in their cooler moments, would soon convince them, that such oaths were not binding, as being contrary to conscience; that

that the taking of them was an impious action, of which they must repent, before they can obtain absolution or salvation. Thus it is evident, that such confederacy and oath, so far as they relate to the regulation of the payments by their parishioners to Popish Priests, are merely nugatory and ropes of sand : and that the destruction of the Protestant Clergy alone, is the object aimed at by the Insurgents, and the resolutions professed to be entered into by them, respecting their own Clergy, are deceitful and illusive.

I proceed now to the *second general proposition*, which I proposed to prove, to wit, *that the abolition or reduction of Tithe by law, as this nation is situated, will be in effect a translation of property, from the Clergy of the Established Church, to the Popish Ecclesiasticks.* The obligation on the laity, of paying Tithes to the Clergy, is held by the Romish Church, to arise from the law of God, and not from human laws, this is an established doctrine of the Romish Church, and it is not one of those doctrines amongst them, which are held to be only points of discipline, but it is held as a point of faith, that it is enjoined by the direct command of God, and that it would be a mortal sin to hold a contrary doctrine. Amongst Protestants, the origin of the Right of the Clergy to Tithes, has been much contro-

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verted, some maintaining that they are due *Jure divino*, others *Jure humano*; but whether they be due, *Jure divino*, or *Jure humano*, the Clergy of the established Church in this, and the sister kingdom, think it more prudent, to ground their right to them, on human laws, having a clear uncontroverted right to them, as the Clergy of the national church, as well by the common as by the statute law of the realm. It must be admitted by all persons acquainted with this kingdom, that, except in three counties, in the Northern part, the bulk of the persons, who actually cultivate the earth, and are liable to the payment of Predial Tithes, are Papists; the Protestants being generally the land owners, or graziers, who occupy large tracts of pasturage land, and for which they pay no Tithe whatsoever; and the inferior Tenantry, who, in general, are the only tillers of the earth, being mostly Papists, and therefore principally liable to the payment of Tithes. The Protestant Clergy being, by the laws of the state, to which this Popish Peasantry were heretofore compelled to submit, entitled to the Tithe, the Papists were obliged to pay, as much of this Tithe, as they could not by fraud retain, or a composition for it, to the Protestant Clergy. Thus situated, they were, from the necessity of the

the thing, excused from paying the Tithe to their own Clergy; divine, as well as human, laws, in particular instances, yielding to necessity, and it being impossible for them to pay to their own Clergy, that which they had by the laws of the state, been compelled to pay to others. Now should the present Popish Insurgents succeed, in abolishing or reducing Tithes, the Protestant Tenantry of this country will be little benefitted by it, because as I have already shewn, they pay but a small portion of the Tithes payable throughout the kingdom: And the Popish Tenantry who are liable to the payment of the greatest part of the Tithes, being persuaded by their Priests, that Tithes are payable Jure divino or by the law of God, if they succeed in despoiling the Protestant Clergy of them, will be in conscience bound to pay them, to their own Priests, who will exact them with much greater rigour, than the Protestant Clergy were ever able to do, because their congregations, if real Papists, must believe, that it is a mortal sin to defraud the Priest of the Tithe, and if any of them should be hardy enough to subtract any part of it, the Priest will find it out at confession, and make compensation the price of absolution; but in their payments to the Protestant Clergy, they

were so far from thinking fraud or subtraction crimes, that they counted them acts of merit; because they conceived themselves compelled to pay them to those they reputed Hereticks, and devoted victims of everlasting fire, by human laws, not by the law of God; and imagined, that the more they defrauded the Protestant Clergymen of, the more they had it in their power to bestow, on their own Clergy, to whom they believed themselves bound by the law of God to pay them. And this belief amongst the Irish Peasantry, is, in fact, the true source of the present insurrections amongst them, and not any real grievance whatsoever, arising from the payment of Tithes, or the mode in which they are collected.

My third general proposition, that the abolition, or reduction of Tithe, will increase, instead of diminishing, the burthens of the real Landholder and Farmer, will admit of a very easy and expeditious proof. There are some lands in this kingdom, discharged from the payment of Tithes, by various exemptions, having been heretofore the estates of Monasteries and Abbies, which being Ecclesiastical Corporations, could hold lands exempt from the payment of Tithes. When such lands are to be let, they are always let, at an advanced rent, on account

count of their being exempt from the payment of Tithes ; and are advertised to be let exempt from Tithes, to enhance their value ; the advanced rent, usually reserved on land of reasonable good quality, exempt from Tithes, amounts to three shillings by the acre ; let us now see, whether a farmer gains or loses by taking a farm exempt from Tithes. Supposing his farm to consist of one hundred acres, he pays to his landlord, at least fifteen pounds more yearly rent for it, than he would be obliged to pay, if it had been subject to the payment of Tithes, during the continuance of his lease. And let me ask any farmer in this kingdom, occupying one hundred acres of land only, whether he ever in any one year paid the sum of fifteen pounds to the incumbent of his parish as Tithe, his own conscience must compel him to answer this question in the negative. I have already shewn that the incumbent does not actually receive more, than one eighth, of the tenth part, of the whole produce of the earth : but supposing, for argument sake, that he received one fourth of his tenth, now if this fourth of the tenth part of the yearly produce of a farm of one hundred acres amounted to fifteen pounds, the tenth itself must one year with another amount to sixty pounds,

pounds, so that the whole yearly produce of a farm of one hundred acres must amount in value to six hundred pounds, a sum, which I will venture to affirm, no farmer in this kingdom can make such a quantity of land, *Communibus Annis*, produce, unless it be land in the vicinity of Dublin, or of some other large city: hence it is plain, if all the land in the kingdom were exempt from the payment of Tithes, that the landlord, and not the farmer, would be the gainer; nay that the farmer would actually be a very great loser, by such an exemption, as the sum annually paid by him to the Parson for Tithes, falls infinitely short of the certain additional rent, he would be obliged to pay to his landlord, if his Farm were exempt from the payment of that duty, and this is admitted, by the author of a pamphlet; entitled a project for a better regulation in collecting the income of the Clergy, &c. in the nineteenth page. Which pamphlet I shall hereafter more particularly mention: And if the farmer were a Papist, a general exemption from the payment of Tithes, would still fall heavier on him: because his own Clergy would not fail, in that case, to claim Tithes from him as payable to them, by the law of God, as they were no longer payable to other persons by the law of the land: and the wretched

wretched farmer would be obliged to pay an additional rent for his land, vastly greater, than any sum which he could be compelled to pay as Tithe, by the present practice of Tithing, and at the same time, to pay the full Tithe of the whole produce of his land, to the Popish Priest of his parish, under pain of eternal damnation. Such mighty advantages would the Popish Farmers of this country, that is, the present Insurgents, derive from the abolition of Tithes! The evils above mentioned would fall on the Popish Farmers in a less degree, but *pro Ratâ*, in case they could, by their present outrages, effect a considerable reduction of Tithes, and yet so infatuated are the Insurgents, who are all of them Popish Farmers, and not land owners, and so strong is the force of their superstition, which impells them to aim at the destruction of the established Religion in any event, and at any price, that, Sampson-like, they will at least attempt to pull down the edifice, though they should perish in the attempt, or, if successful, be buried in the ruins. And this conclusion, that the abolition or reduction of Tithes would end in the oppression and loss of all farmers, but particularly of Popish Farmers, is a very good argument to prove, that superstition, and not the pretended exactions of the Clergy.

gy, is the true source of the present disorders.

I now proceed to the *fourth* part of my design, that is to prove, *that the present method of raising a maintenance for the National Clergy, by payment of Tithe, in the manner it is by law payable; is the properest mode of raising a maintenance for them; and that it is difficult, and almost impracticable, to substitute any other method of raising a maintenance for them, in its place, consistent with justice and reason.* I believe all Christians, except a few absurd Fanatics, who deal in inspiration, will admit, it is necessary, that some fund should be allotted, for the support of the National Clergy: And our ancestors very wisely allotted such a fund for that purpose, as was not liable to any increase or decrease, from the changes effected by time in the value of money, nor to any increase or decrease, except such as arise from general prosperity or calamity; that is, they allotted for the support of the Clergy, the tenth part of the yearly produce of the earth, which, in plentiful seasons, must be greater, in adverse, less: and must therefore always bear a due proportion to the abilities of the people. When Tithes were first allotted for the maintenance of the Clergy, which was immediately on the establishment of Christianity

Christianity amongst us, had a certain pecuniary stipend been allotted for their support, instead of Tithes, they would at this day have no income whatsoever, or one so trifling, as would be totally inadequate to their support : at the first introduction of Christianity into this kingdom. Money was at least of fifty times greater value, than it is at present, that is, one penny, would then purchase as much, as fifty pence would now, so that if two pounds in money had been then allotted for the support of a Clergyman, he would be then able to purchase as many necessities of life, for such yearly stipend, as would now cost one hundred pounds, and consequently two pounds in money yearly stipend, might be then sufficient for the support of a Clergyman, but, in the present times, would be utterly inadequate to such purpose. But to take up the matter from less remote times, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, the value of money in England, was ten times greater than at present, and its value was certainly much greater at that time in this kingdom, that is, one shilling then bought a greater quantity of commodities in this kingdom, than in England : if a pecuniary stipend, equal to the then value of the Tithes payable to the Clergy, had been allotted for their support, in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth,

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that stipend, would be only equal, to the tenth part of the value of the Tithes, at this day, in England, and to about a twelfth or fourteenth part of the value of the Tithes now payable to the Clergy in this kingdom, and as the quantity of specie is daily encreasing in Europe, and its value consequently decreasing, this stipend would be daily diminishing. Nothing can illustrate these positions more effectually, than the consideration of the nature of a Modus. A Modus derived its original, from an agreement entered into between the incumbent of a Parish, and his Parishioners, to accept yearly of a certain sum, in lieu of some particular Tithe, which was judged, to be the value, or nearly the value of it, during his incumbency, this agreement was acceded to, or acquiesced in, by a few successive incumbents, and at length it became difficult to trace the commencement of it, and thus it grew at last into a custom, which has been established and confirmed by the courts of law, who have granted Prohibitions to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and prevented them from decreeing against such custom, and compelling the Parishioners to pay Tithes in kind, or their value; the sums payable in lieu of Tithes, to the Incumbent of a Parish, in which such Modus prevails, is now, by the decrease of the value of money, become

come so far inferior to the value of the Tithe, (as the agreement has been entered into at a very distant period of time) that his income is reduced within the most narrow limits, and scarce affords the means of Existence; and such is the situation of many Rectors and Vicars in England and Wales. From these observations it appears, how great were the piety and wisdom of our Ancestors, who settled, *such a Provision for the Clergy, as admitted of no variation, as to its competency to the end for which it was instituted, from the Revolutions of Ages, but bore an exact proportion to the means of the people, rising and falling with their abundance and scarcity, and though uncertain as to the quantity, yet equal to its end, and guarded by insurmountable barriers against all exaction and extortion.* This leads me to the consideration of an argument, adduced by the Enemies of our Established Church, for the abolition of Tithes, to wit, that they are a Tax upon Industry; because, the more a Farmer tills and cultivates the earth, the greater quantity of Tithe is demandable from him. This curious argument was first hatched by the Sectaries in England, in the odious Civil War, which desolated the three kingdoms; but had so little weight, even with the fanatical rulers, in that accursed period of our history, that Tithes continued to be paid

throughout England; and were demanded, and received by the illiterate Rabble, who then usurped the pulpits, and ejected the Orthodox Clergy, even in the worst period of that illegal domination. And this argument has been revived, in a pamphlet lately published by a Popish Printer in College-green, entitled, *a PROJECT for a better Regulation in collecting the income of the Clergy, and for the ease and advantage of the Laity, particularly the poorer orders, by a beneficed Clergyman*; the contents of which pamphlet I shall presently examine. This argument bears the stamp of enmity, to the Established Church, on the face of it, it calls Tithes a *Tax*, that is, it gives this ancient rent, payable out of the lands of the kingdom, by a title antecedent to that of every Landlord in it, by the appellation of a *Tax*, an appellation always odious to the populace, thereby insinuating to the vulgar, that as all Taxes are laid on at the discretion, and by the authority, of Parliament; and as the reduction of *Taxes*, is the favourite theme of declamation, of the leaders of the popular interest, in and out of Parliament, that therefore, it is, not only, in the power of Parliament, to annihilate and reduce them, but that it would be a popular measure so to do. It also insinuates, that the title to Tithes, stands
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on a much weaker foundation, than the title of Landlords to their rents, one being a *Tax*, the other an inherent Property in the Landlord, antecedent to all Parliaments; and consequently that, which Parliaments cannot deprive the Landlords of, without a full equivalent: it being the particular glory of our Constitution, that a man's property cannot be taken from him by the Supreme Power, without an equivalent, except such part, by way of *Tax*, as is necessary for the preservation of the State, which is considered, and justly, as a full equivalent. But let us examine how it can be maintained, that Tithes, (even supposing them a *Tax*) are more a *Tax* on industry than all other Taxes. The merchant who deals in the export or import trade, pays the more taxes, the more extensive his dealings are, and his Taxes encrease with his trade, how then are Tithes more a *Tax* on the industry of the Farmer, than the Duties payable by merchants on Goods exported or imported, are Taxes on the industry of the merchant? The more extensive the dealings of a skilfull merchant are, and the greater his industry, the more are his profits, and the more are his Taxes: his industry renders him more able, and more willing, to pay the Taxes; and he would smile at the absurdity of any person,

son, who would tell him, that he ought to be less industrious, because he would thereby diminish the Taxes payable by him. In the same manner, a Farmer, the more industrious he is, and the more extensive his cultivation, pays the more Tithe, and is the more able to pay it: and it is a ridiculous argument, to prove a Tax an impolitic one, to say, it is a Tax which is levied, in an exact proportion with the abilities and means of the persons who are to pay it. It may perhaps be here objected, that this method of reasoning is fallacious, because the merchant pays the more Taxes, the more extensive his dealings and his industry are, yet that he reimburses himself, by fixing a proportionable higher price on his commodities, and thereby actually levies the Tax paid by him on the consumer; but pray, is not the case the same with the Farmer? Does not the Farmer sell the produce of his farm so much the dearer, as his Rent, his Tithe and his Outgoings in the cultivation of his farm are the greater, and more expensive? If he does not do so, he cannot long continue his business, he must be ruined: Does not the Farmer therefore, as well as the Merchant, levy this Tax of Tithes on the consumer? The method of reasoning adopted by the Author of the pamphlet I have mentioned,

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to prove that Tithes are a Tax on industry, is this, *It happens in many places, even in new let farms, that the sum paid to the Clergyman, amounts to a fourth or fifth of the rent paid to the Landlord; what occasions this, but the industry of the Farmer?* I have already, I trust, shewn, that Tithes, if considered as a Tax, are no more a Tax upon industry than other Taxes; and that they, as well as all other Taxes, are paid by the consumers. But it is worth while to examine a little more minutely the reasoning of this Writer on this head. And first, I must observe, that his position, *that in many places, in new-let Farms, the sum paid to the Clergyman, amounts to a fourth or fifth of the rent paid to the Landlord,* is not true, except in two instances; the one, where a Fine has been paid to the Landlord, at the making of the lease, and part of the rent has been thereby purchased from him, by the Tenant; the other, where the land, being uncultivated Mountain or Bog, at the time of making the lease, has been reclaimed by the industry of the Tenant, in both cases, the Rent payable to the Landlord, is not near the Value of the Ground, and in the first case, the Clergyman's receiving a fifth of what is payable to the Landlord, is not owing to the industry of the Tenant, but to his having purchased a part of the rent from the Landlord, with his

his money: in the second case, the Clergyman's receipts for Tithes are owing to the money expended by the Tenant in the improvement of the ground, which may be considered in the nature of a Fine paid to the Landlord for the reduction of the rent, having the same effect; besides I have already shewn, that the Tithe is really paid by the consumers of the produce of the land, that is the Community at large, and not by the Farmer, who disposes of it at Fairs and Markets; and the Tithe, as paid, is, in any event, a very small Tax, not amounting to more than the eightieth part of the produce. Secondly, I must observe, the great fallacy of this method of argument, which is just this, *in some few places*, the Clergyman receives as Tithe, from a new let farm, one fifth of the rent payable to the Landlord; this arises from the Tenants Industry, therefore, throughout *the whole kingdom*, Tithes are a Tax upon Industry, this, at the best is an argument from particulars to generals, which it does not require any great skill in logick to discover the sophistry of; but the Author had another view in making use of this argument, he endeavours to insinuate to the landed interest at large, that the Clergy receive a great Revenue from Tithes equal in *most places* to the fourth or fifth of the income of the estates of the Nobility

ty and Gentry : the insidious tendency of this insinuation is obvious ; but let us now examine how far such an insinuation can be supported by reality, supposing a Farm of one hundred acres, of what is generally termed good Land, has been let at any time within these ten or twenty years last past, in any part of this kingdom without Fine, it may be concluded, by any person, who knows this kingdom, that it was not let at less, than twenty shillings by the Acre, even in parts considerably remote from the Metropolis : the Tenant to gain a subsistence by his bargain ought to make such a Farm produce Commodities to the value of two hundred pounds annually, at least, when it is considered, that exclusive of the Rent, and his expences in cultivating the ground, he and his family are entitled to a subsistence out of the produce : the incumbent receives nothing out of the produce of this Farm, except from the Hay, Corn, and Potatoes, for Tithe of Agistment is annihilated : and I have already shewn, that he does not in fact receive more than one eighth part of the tenth, that is, one eightieth part of the whole produce of the earth ; so that his Tithe, one year with another, out of a Farm, so circumstanced, amounts to about two pounds ten shillings, and the Landlords rent amounts to one hundred pounds,

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that is, the Tithe is about a fortieth part of the Landlords rent out of such a Farm, and the same method of calculation may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to all new let farms. It is pretty plain indeed, that the Clergyman is by law entitled to Tithes out of such a Farm, amounting in value to one fifth of what is paid to the Landlord for rent ; for the Landlord who lets land to another person to cultivate, ought not to reserve a greater rent than the value of one half of the produce, which the cultivator can raise out of the land, that is, the annual produce should amount in value to double the rent, otherwise the Farmer cannot procure a reasonable subsistence out of the Farm. And the Clergyman is by law entitled to a tenth part of that produce, that is, to what amounts in value to a fifth of the rent payable to the Landlord, instead of which he receives, as I have before shewn, only about one fortieth part of the rent reserved.

I have already, I trust, proved to every unprejudiced reader, that the present method of raising a maintenance for the National Clergy by payment of Tithes, is the properest mode of raising a maintenance for them, I shall now endeavour to shew the difficulty of substituting any other method, adequate to that end, in the place of the present, consistent with
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reason and justice, which will naturally lead me to an examination of the equity of the plan proposed in the pamphlet already mentioned, and will induce some strictures on the dangerous positions, deceit and absurdity of the Author. He proposes, that an average rate of the income arising from Tithe of each plowland, in each parish, be taken for the last seven years, and that this average rate shall be struck by a jury, consisting of an equal number of Clergy and Laity, and in case this jury shall not agree on an average, that it shall be ascertained at the Quarter Sessions, or by the Judge of Assize, or some Judge of any of the King's Courts, without appeal from their decision, and that this average rate so taken and struck, shall stand for the time to come in lieu of such Tithes and Ecclesiastical Dues, as each respective Parish had, for the antecedent term, *actually* paid, and that the Incumbent should be empowered to make leases of the respective Tithes of each plowland to the Proprietor, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, at this average rate, and that it should be in the option of *either* party, on the expiration of every lease, to demand a new valuation of the Tithes, and Ecclesiastical Dues, arising on each denomination of land. And that a new valuation should be struck by a *similar*

Procefs, for any future term, not exceeding twenty-one years. And if Landlords or solvent Tenants of the lands should refuse to take such leases, that the Clergyman or Impropiator should be at liberty to make a similar lease to any other person. And that they should have a power to levy this average rate by distress, or (*to give no offence*) by Civil Bill.

To expose the injustice and mischievous effects to the Protestant Religion of this plan, if carried into execution, it will be necessary that I mention shortly the state of the Established Church in this kingdom, so far as relates to the number and revenues of the Parochial Clergy. The whole number of the Established Clergy in this kingdom amounts to about twelve hundred, five-sixths of which are Parochial Clergy, Rectors, Vicars, and Curates, whose general subsistence depends on Tithes only. Of the Tithes of the kingdom, at least one-third, is Improprate, that is, is in Lay hands, and composes part of the settled descendible estates of the Nobility and Gentry in this kingdom: for the Monks, whilst the mist of Popery had overspread this kingdom, had found means to procure great numbers, as well of Rectories, as Vicarages, to be annexed to their respective Monasteries, which supplied the Cures
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of the several parishes by their own members. At the dissolution of Monasteries, in the reign of King Henry the VIIIth. that tyrant prevailed on parliament to vest all their estates and possessions in the crown; and instead of restoring the Tithes of the several parishes, which had been possessed by the Monasteries, to the respective Incumbents of such parishes, he granted them, by patent, to several Laymen in fee simple, by which means they have remained from that day to this, the estates of Laymen; another considerable portion of the Tithes of this kingdom is appropriated; that is, composes part of the estates of several Ecclesiastical Corporations, such as Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and Dignitaries in Cathedral Churches; so that the Parochial Clergy are not intitled to much more than one-half of the Tithes of the kingdom. I have already proved, that the Parochial Clergy do not actually receive above an eighth part of the Tithe they are entitled to receive: and when impropriations and appropriations are considered, it is pretty evident, that the Parochial Clergy do not receive much more, than a sixteenth part of the Tithe of the whole kingdom, that is, the one hundredth and sixtieth part of the produce of the land; and for personal Tithes, or the tenth of the gains,

gains, made by arts, trade and commerce, they are paid nothing whatsoever, hence it happens, that to enable a Parochial Clergyman to procure a Livelyhood by his Profession, the Bishops have been under the absolute necessity, throughout the whole kingdom, of uniting a number of adjacent Parishes, sometimes fix, sometimes more, and appointing one Clergyman to perform the duty of them all, each parish seperately, not affording a subsistence for a Clergyman. The disastrous effects, of thus curtailing the Revenues of the Parochial Clergy, are visible and notorious. Our whole Parochial Clergy, do not amount to the number of the Clergy in one single Diocese in England, that of Lincoln, whose Clergy amount to nearly twelve hundred, The Clergyman appointed to perform the duty in one of these unions, finds it absolutely impossible to visit his Parishioners, or to perform the sacred functions of his office for them. Some of these unions are, from twelve, to twenty miles long, and nearly as many broad : the inhabitants are unable to attend service at their Parish Churches : by dissuetude of attending at the House of God, and want of instruction, they degenerate into Heathens, or become the prey of rambling Popish Fryars : and it is a certain fact, that many ancient Protestant Families, in the remote

more parts of the south and west of this kingdom, have been perverted to Popery, by the effects, above-mentioned, of the scanty provision for the Established Clergy. Hence it becomes the interest, and consequently the settled plan, of Papists of all denominations, to defraud and plunder the Clergy of the Established Church of their Tithes : because by such means they diminish their number, and secure and extend the Dominion of Popery and Ignorance. Were it possible, for the Clergy of the Established Church, to procure from their parishioners, even the one half instead of the eighth part of what they are intitled to ; this evil would in a great measure be remedied, for then the Protestant Clergy might be quadrupled : and the rays of the gospel would by that means shoot into the remotest and darkest corners of the kingdom ; the Clouds of Popery would by degrees be dispelled, and the peasantry would become good christians and good subjects, it may be here objected, that many of the Parochial Clergy, have already very large incomes, from their benefices ; and that, should their benefices encrease four fold, they would become enormous ; but to this I answer, that very few indeed, of the Parochial Clergy, derive too ample a revenue from their livings ; much the greatest number of them, live on very
 scanty

scanty incomes, though men of such learning and ability. as in any other of the learned professions, would have secured to them much more ample emoluments : besides, the few Parochial Benefices in this kingdom, which produce a large income, are almost all composed of a number of parishes united, and in case the Clergy could procure one half of their legal dues, these parishes would be disunited, and a Clergyman assigned to each, so that the revenue of each particular incumbent would not be, by such means, greater than it now is : and unions and pluralities would no longer remain in the church. I now return to the examination of the plan before mentioned. Which is, that the Established Clergy shall in future be obliged, to accept of a sum of money, to be ascertained by a jury, *in lieu of Tithes*, and that such sum shall be averaged, from the receipts of each incumbent, on account of Tithes, for the last seven years, immediately preceding the impannelling of the jury, and that the jury shall consist of an equal number of Laymen and Clergymen ; this plan or scheme may be pronounced, at the first blush, to be founded on the grossest injustice, for the incumbent, is to be compelled by law, to accept of one eighth, of his, heretofore, legal dues, as a compensation for the whole,

whole, and because he has been for seven years past, in defiance of law and justice, despoiled, of seven eighths of his legal income, this spoilation must be sanctified by law; and it must be enacted, that he shall never receive any compensation for what he has lost, and shall never hereafter receive, more than one eighth, of what the common law has for ages allotted for his maintenance, and which has been frequently confirmed by the statute law. And what reasons are assigned by the projector for the expediency of adopting such a plan? Why truly, the Clergyman will get his stipend without murmuring, and the farmers will be eased of a grievous burthen. As to the first; it cannot be doubted, but that every knavish debtor, will pay his creditor, one eighth part of his just demand, with less reluctance, than he will pay the whole; but who ever had the effrontery to propose, that a law should be enacted, compelling the creditor to accept from his debtor, one eighth part of his debt in lieu of the whole, when he is able to pay the whole? And would it not be full as reasonable to propose, that a law should be enacted, to compel the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, to accept of one eighth of their rents from their tenantry, instead of the whole, because their tenantry would pay them this

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eighth part without murmuring? as to
 the second reason, I have already prov-
 ed it to be a falshood: for neither the
 abolition, or reduction of Tithe, can ease
 the Farmer of any burthen, but on the
 contrary must serve to encrease his bur-
 thens: I would also ask this projector, how
 it is plain, that the Popish Tenantry of
 this kingdom, would pay the Clergyman,
 even this average rate, without murmur-
 ing? he himself seems to think that they
 would not, because he proposes remedies
 for the recovery of it, when with-held,
 to wit, distress, *or civil bill, for fear of*
giving offence, offence to whom? why to
 the Land Owners and Farmers. Very
 condescending and very equitable truly
 in the projector? You Clergymen must be
 compelled by law, to accept of one eighth
 of your heretofore legal dues, in lieu of
 the whole, and you shall not have such
 remedy, for the recovery of even that
 pittance, which the Landlord has for the
 recovery of his rack rents: and why,
 because such power, given to you, would
 offend both Landlord and Tenant, who
 are willing to defraud you, of every six
 pence of that, to which you are, at least
 as well entitled, as they are, to any
 part of their properties; for so the projec-
 tor admits, when he expressly states *that*
the right to Tithes, is prior to the right of
any Landlord in this kingdom to, his estate,
whether

whether he holds by prescription, by grant, or by purchase. One would imagine, that the projector, did not think the Clergy, to be any part of the community, or that they were entitled, to the same measure of justice, with other subjects of this kingdom; but thought, that their properties, might be at any time taken from them, by act of parliament, without equivalent, to gratify even a Popish and Rebellious Banditti. Exclusive of the present glaring injustice which would be done by the adoption of this plan, it would also extend its baleful influence to future ages, with progressive destructive effect, for the sum averaged to be paid in lieu of Tithes, would remain the same, though its value would, as I have already shewn, progressively diminish; by which the Clergy would be, by degrees, reduced to absolute beggary, notwithstanding the fallacious and absurd proposal of the projector, by way of obviating objections to his scheme, on the score of such eventual mischief, which I shall presently mention. I would recommend, it to every serious christian of the Established Church, to consider, how effectually this scheme, if put in execution, would, not only, prevent the Established Religion from making any further progress in this kingdom, but in the end eradicate it; and plant Popery in its place. I have al-

ready mentioned the number of Parochial Clergy in this kingdom, and shewn how inadequate they are to the service of the Church, and to the effectual propagation of the Protestant Faith, amongst the Popish Inhabitants ; the impiety, the superstition, the injustice of the times, have so stinted the maintenance of the Parochial Clergy, who are five sixths of the whole body, that a greater number than the present, cannot be supported, in a manner suitable to the dignity of their sacred function ; but the laws of the land have provided a fund for their support ; which would maintain a much greater number : by a variety of concurring circumstances, and perhaps, *by a culpable supineness in the state*, these laws cannot be, or have not been, effectually enforced. Now should such a plan, as this projector proposes, be established by law, it would not only for ever prevent any encrease to the present funds, received by the Parochial Clergy, and consequently effectually bar any further advances of the Protestant Religion in this kingdom, but it would by degrees diminish, and at length annihilate, the subsistence of the present number of the National Clergy, as I have already proved, and like soldiers starved in a long and close siege, they would be at length obliged to evacuate and surrender the garrison, at discretion, to the armies

mies of the Pope. It may be here objected, that want of legal funds has not extirpated the Popish Clergy, but that they still, as well Regulars as Seculars, continue to swarm in this nation, that their poverty is a spur to their industry, in retaining their present congregations, and making proselytes. and that a similar poverty would have similar effects on the Protestant Clergy. that therefore the reduction or annihilation of their present revenues would be so far from destroying, that it would promote the Protestant Faith. But persons who argue thus, do not consider the circumstances of this nation, and the essential differences which subsist between the Religion established and Popery, in respect to raising contributions from the people: for first, the great bulk of this nation is still immersed and wallows in the muddy deluge of Popery, so that, did the Protestant Faith give as ample a power over the purses of its proselytes, as the Popish, and were both Protestant and Popish Clergy to subsist on the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, the Popish Clergy would receive at least twenty times as much as the Protestant. In fact, the disproportion of subsistence would be greater than the disproportion of numbers; because throughout a great part of this kingdom, from the very small number
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ber of Protestants in whole parishes, nay even in whole baronies, no Protestant Clergyman whatsoever could procure a subsistence in such parishes or baronies: and the Protestants in such districts not being able by their contributions to support a Clergyman amongst them, would contribute nothing, and by degrees degenerate into Popery or Heathenism. Now add to this the various powers of Suction from the Popish Laity, which their Clergy possess and exercise, founded on doctrines reprobated by the Established Church, and it will easily appear, that supposing the numbers in a Protestant and Popish congregation were equal, and that the respective Priests were to live on voluntary contributions, the Protestant Clergyman would starve, whilst the Popish lived in affluence. Auricular confession, commutation of penances, indulgences, extreme unctions, masses for the dead, monks' minds, and all the profits of the Romish purgatory doctrine, demonstrate the skill of the Popish Clergy in religious chemistry, an art utterly unknown to our Parochial Clergy, who seek nothing but such dues as the law has given them. I must also mention another source of wealth to the Romish Clergy, which has long ceased to flow in our church, I mean the Jus Divinum of Tithes; a Romish Priest can appeal to the conscience of his proselyte for justice,

tice, when Tithes are subtracted from him, whereas a Protestant Clergyman can only appeal to the law of the land for justice in a similar case. So that if the law of the land, which gives him a title to Tithes, was repealed, the Protestant Clergyman would be remediless, but the Popish would not be so; and I have already shewn, that by virtue of the doctrine, that Tithes are due to the Clergy *Jure divino*, the Romish Priests, in fact, get from the Popish Laity whatever part of the Tithes is subtracted from the Protestant Clergy, which, with their other gains, sufficiently accounts for their swarms in this infatuated nation, and also for the present insurrections. The Romish Clergy in many places, openly acknowledge, that they are the authors of these insurrections, for many of them have had the boldness, traiterously to read to their congregations, in their respective mass houses, the most rebellious manifestoes of the insurgents; pretending that they were compelled by treats so to do; though it is well known, that the Popish Laity are, in general, the slaves of their Priests, and absolutely under their controul. And their mass houses are the usual places where the insurgents meet, and bind themselves by oaths to execute their rebellious and barbarous designs, to give their confederacy the greater strength and duration, when cemented,

mented, and as it were consolidated, by an oath, made at the feet of their altars.

As a further instance of the injustice and fraud of the projector's plan, he proposes, that the sum hereafter to be paid in lieu of Tithes, shall be averaged by a jury, half Clergy and half Laity, and if they cannot agree on a sum, (as indeed it is highly probable such a motly jury would not) that then it shall be averaged at the Quarter Sessions, or by the Judge of Assize, or by any Judge of the King's Courts, as Parliament shall appoint; that is, if the six Clergymen, on such a jury, shall not concur with the six Laymen, in ascertaining the future subsistence of a Clergyman of a parish, his subsistence shall be carved out, by a bench of country Justices at a Quarter Sessions, or by the Judge of Assize, or some other Judge, according to their will and pleasure: and the award of these Justices or Judges is to be final and conclusive. Thus the subsistence of a Clergyman is not only at the first, to be, to a certainty, reduced to one-eighth of what he is legally entitled to; but if any disagreement should happen between such Jury as before-mentioned, in ascertaining the precise amount of his future pittance, it must be finally ascertained by the arbitrary determination of half a dozen ignorant country Justices, amidst the riot and

and drunkenness of a Quarter Sessions; or by the sole will and pleasure of a Judge of Assize, or some other Judge, without appeal; the Clergy are to be for ever excluded, from any interference in settling the quantum of the future subsistence of a brother Clergyman, if they do not agree to such sum, as six Laymen shall say is reasonable; and in such case, all interference of a Jury, in disposing of the property of a Clergyman, is finally to cease, and his property, and that of his successors, is, without appeal, to be decided upon, by a few country Justices, or a Judge of Assize. This is truly a new method of disposing of the property of the subject, and puts in the strongest light the injustice of the projector, and his contempt, or at best, his ignorance of the principles of this constitution.

The next part of our projector's plan is remarkable for its absurdity, impracticability, and some degree of low cunning; he foresaw, that the objection of the constant diminution of the value of money, would be urged against his scheme of ascertaining a precise sum of money to be paid, for ever hereafter, in lieu of Tithes. And it having been part of his scheme, that the Incumbent should have power to make leases, not exceeding twenty-one years, of the Tithes of each plowland, at the rent of the average rate,

he was to receive *in lieu of Tithes*, to the land-owner, or to others, if he refused to accept of such lease, he then proposes, *that to obviate any objection which may occur from the rise or fall in the price of provisions, it may be in the option of either party, on the expiration of every lease, to demand a new valuation of the Tithes and Ecclesiastical Dues arising on each denomination of land, when, by a similar process, a new valuation shall be struck, for any future term, not exceeding twenty-one years, that may be agreed upon, or that an Act of Parliament may appoint.* What a syllabub of absurdity and low cunning is here! first, the projector proposes, that a certain specific sum of money shall be ascertained, to be paid out of each plowland, *in lieu of Tithes*; consequently the Tithes themselves are to be annihilated; yet the Incumbent is to have it in his power to make leases to the land-owners, or others, of those Tithes, after such their annihilation. In the next place, the projector, aware of the unanswerable objection to his scheme, of the *constant* diminution of the value of money, chuses to keep it as much as possible out of sight, and to substitute in its place, the variation in the prices of provisions, which happens from *casual* abundance or scarcity. It is true, the prices of provisions, (provided you extend the word provisions, so as to comprehend all the

the necessaries of life) is the standard to measure the value of money by; that is, the higher the price of the necessaries of life is, the less is the value of any given sum of money, because it will then purchase less of these necessaries, than when their price is lower; but the projector thought fit to make use of the word provisions, which, in its usual signification, means only what we eat and drink, because they occasionally rise and fall in price in scarce and plentiful seasons; and are liable to more occasional and sudden changes, than the other necessaries of life, which do not require to be daily renewed and supplied, as provisions do; and he endeavours, by making use of such expression, to insinuate, that the value of money fluctuates so, as to admit of increase, as well as decrease, in long periods of time; and thus in a sliding manner, to evade the force of the objection against his plan, of the *continual* diminution of the value of money. But this little cunning will by no means serve his turn, because the experience of many ages, and even of the present, contradicts him; and proves, that notwithstanding casual variations both of increase and decrease in the price of the provisions, or of the necessaries of life, in periods of one or two years; yet, that in a course of years, they invariably rise in

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price, and consequently the value of money lessens ; and for the truth of this position, I appeal, even to the experience of the present age, who well know, that the price of all the necessaries of life is very nearly doubled, and the value of money sunk in the same proportion, within these forty years last past. But it is now time to see, what remedy the projector purposes for this fluctuation in the value of money ; why truly, that a new average rate or valuation of Tithes, shall be struck by *a similar process* to that, he has laid down in his original plan, at the end of the first lease for twenty one years, made according to that plan, that is after twenty one years shall be expired, from the time of ascertaining the first average rate, a new average rate for the succeeding twenty one years, shall be again ascertained, by a similar process to that, by which the first was ascertained ; now the first was to be ascertained, by striking a medium, from the receipts of the incumbent on account of Tithes, for the last seven years, immediately preceding the valuation ; and if the second valuation is to be ascertained by a similar process, it must be ascertained from the receipts of the incumbent on the score of Tithes, for the last seven years immediately preceding the second valuation ; at least, the projector suggests no other mode of calculation for the valutors to proceed upon, but

but these receipts were exactly the same for the last seven years past preceding the second valuation, amounting every year to the first average rate, that was ascertained; therefore the second valuation, must be exactly the same with the first, and does not obviate the objection stated by the projector, nor any objection made to his scheme, nor would it in any shape remedy any fluctuation in the price of provisions, or value of money, but would be nugatory and absurd. The projector before he had suggested any method of patching or piecing his crazy scheme, should have shewn, that it was so far complete, as to last a few years at least, without additions or repairs; let us examine whether that be the case. He proposes, that an average rate shall be struck, which the incumbent is to receive from each plowland, in lieu of Tithes of the whole, and which, if not paid, he is to recover by distress, or civil bill; supposing there were fifty Tenants on a plowland, which is often the case, each holding by different tenures, and from different Landlords, for a plowland is seldom the estate of one person; in what manner, in such case, is the part of the average rate, payable by each Tenant, to be ascertained? or supposing the different Landlords were willing to take such leases of the annihilated Tithes, as before mentioned,

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or in other words, agreed with the incumbent to pay him such different rents for their respective shares of a plowland, as would altogether amount to the average rate ascertained for the whole plowland, by what process is the share, payable by each, to be determined? and what sums are they to levy from their respective Tenants during their leases, and in what proportions, to indemnify themselves, for such sums, as they shall have agreed to pay the incumbent? or are the Landlords, making such agreements with the incumbent, to be at liberty, to take or levy the whole Tithe, from their then respective Tenants, during their respective leases? And as they are, by the projectors scheme, to be at liberty to set their lands, to them or others, at the expiration of such leases, Tithe free, and raise their respective rents accordingly, in which case the Tenants, as I have already shewn, particularly Popish Tenants, would be in a much worse situation than at present, who are to be distrained by the incumbent for the average rate due out of a whole plowland, or against whom is the process by civil bill to issue, for the recovery of such average rate? these are questions, and material ones, unanswered by the projector, and relate to cases unprovided for by his scheme. And indeed the whole scheme is such a heap of injustice, absurdity,

dity, crudity and imperfection, that I am almost ashamed to have taken so much notice of it.

I cannot however dismiss this Pamphlet, without remarking the great modesty of the author, who styles himself a Beneficed Clergyman, but if he is so, he must be certainly a beneficed Popish Priest, and such his virulence against Tithes, and against the Established Clergy, proclaim him to be. In the sixth page of his pamphlet where he mentions that objections may be hereafter made to his plan; he declares, that *he hesitates not to prophecy, and ante manum to pronounce, that such objections will turn out to be the mere ebullitions of self interest, and the spirit of opposition*, with what exemplary modesty, he trumpets forth the praises of his own ingenuity, and abilities! he is the *Doct̃or irrefragabilis*, his scheme is complete, and absolute, finished *ad unguem*, and no reasonable objection can be made against it. His skill in calculation is equal to his modesty; he tells the Landlord, that when he makes a lease to a Tenant, he thereby lets to farm, his the Landlords nine shares of the produce of the land. Nothing can be more erroneous than such an assertion: the produce of land is vastly encreased by cultivation; men who are owners of large tracts of land, finding it impossible or inconvenient

ent to cultivate it themselves, are under a necessity of letting it out, at certain yearly rents, in parcels, to others to cultivate. The tenant's expence and labour raises the produce or crop; to one tenth of which the incumbent of the parish is by law entitled; but who ever before heard, that the remaining nine tenths of the produce were the property of the Landlord, and farmed out by him to the Tenant? are the labour and expences of the Tenant consumed in raising this produce, the property of the Landlord, and does he farm them to the Tenant? those nine tenths are indeed a security to the Landlord, for the payment of the rent agreed to be paid to him by the Tenant for the liberty of tilling and manufacturing a certain portion of ground for a certain term, but they are in no other light his property; and the rent payable to him for this privilege, ought not exceed one-half of the annual produce of the earth, that is five-tenth parts of it, otherwise the farmer could not procure a livelihood by his labour and industry; and in general it ought to be, and probably is, much less. Throughout England, I am well informed that the rent reserved on land, never exceeds one-third of what it is estimated, that the tenant may make of the land by due cultivation. In another

ther part of this pamphlet, the projector launches out into the most pathetic declamation on the miseries of the poor; every one of which he attributes to their being subject to the payment of Tithes; which he styles the tenth part of their years subsistence. These are his words: *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ: from hence issue the swarms of beggars, with which every road is spread; from hence issue rioters, robbers, and whiteboys, with which every country is infested.* Thus, if you believe the projector, the subsistence allotted for the National Clergy, in all ages of christianity, is the source of all manner of vices, immorality, robbery, and beggary in the subject, and the ruin of the state. The virulent Papist here breaks out from his disguise, and plainly tells you, you must extirpate the Clergy of the established church or the nation is undone; with the same virulence, he falls upon what he states to be a practice of established Clergy, which is, that they usually convene an assembly of their respective parishioners, at some stated place, and make agreements with them for the purchase of their respective Tithes. I believe such meetings may be customary in some parts of this kingdom, and surely an Incumbent cannot manifest a stronger inclination to gratify his parishioners, than by convening a general meeting of them,

and treating with them, for the sale of their respective Tithes to each of them, commonly, on such terms as they themselves propose. The proceeding is certainly fair, open, and expeditious. This the projector stiles an *auktion of Tithes*, and complains of it, as a hardship on the parishioner, to be obliged to attend and make an agreement for the purchase of his Tithes, under the penalty of their being sold to another, whom he stiles a canter; that is, he esteems it a hardship, that the Clergyman will not absolutely remit the parishioner, who chuses to absent himself from such meeting, from all payment of Tithes; he then states, that the absentee is obliged frequently to purchase his Tithe from this canter *for more than it is worth*; very extraordinary indeed, that a man should pay more than the Tithe is worth to the canter, when he has it in his option to give him the Tithe itself. and pay him nothing! The projector then pathetically laments the necessity the parishioner is under of giving this Tithe in kind, or paying a composition for it, in the following most melancholy strains: *if he pays the Tithe in kind* (which however he admits he might have purchased by very easy composition) *he must cast about for means to feed himself and his family for a tenth part, (or above thirty-six days) of the ensuing year,*
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the provision for which has been thus legally wrested from him. Work is not always to be had; besides what labour he can spare from his own field, he is obliged to give to his immediate landlord, either as a duty, or in payment of that rent which he has no other means of discharging. This is fine declamation! very fit, it must be confessed, to excite the populace to insurrections, by suggesting the ideas of imaginary wrongs and oppressions. The projector indeed admits, that the cottager is reduced to these wretched extremities of want and despair, by being obliged to submit to such legal demands, but he at the same time informs the cottager that these laws are flagitious and unjust, and calculated to reduce him and his family to want and beggary. Now could not the projector with much more propriety, according to his own mode of reasoning, suggest to the cottager, that nine-tenths of the annual subsistence of himself and his family is farmed out to him on the most severe terms, and at a rack rent, by his landlord, who, if this rent is unpaid, will seize on these nine-tenths, and convert them to his own use; that the laws, as they at present stand, entitle the landlord to nine-tenths of the annual subsistence of the cottager and his family; and that the landlord, by the hard terms on which he farms out these nine-tenths to the cottager, deprives him and his family of their

subsistence, or the greater part of it, for three hundred and twenty nine days in the year, and consequently that the landlord is nine-times a greater oppressor than the Parson? and could he not tell him, that these nine-tenths, or a very hard composition for them, are legally wrested from him? particularly as he confesses, that what labour the peasant can spare from his own field, he is obliged to give to the immediate landlord, either as a duty, or in payment of that rent which he has no other means of discharging. Such conduct in this declaiming incendiary, would bespeake some opinion of impartiality and candour in him, and would fairly avow an intention of raising a general insurrection of the peasantry to level all distinctions; but that is not his view; all he aims at is the destruction of the established Clergy, and the established Religion; if he can make tools of the peasantry to execute such a plan, it is all he desires: he is willing enough, that they should remain slaves to their present, *or rather future landlords*, and he cares not, what tyranny a Popish landed interest may exercise over their vassals, if he can at present persuade the peasantry, that they are oppressed by the established Clergy, and by their agency effect their destruction, and the consequent destruction of their Religion, his end is completely answered.

swered. How much more just would this reasoning with the peasantry be ! You and your ancestors from the time of, or immediately after the planting of Christianity amongst you, have been by law bound to pay the full tenth of the produce of the grounds you occupy, to the Incumbent of the parish in which your land lies, and the tenth part of the produce never belonged to you, nor ought you to reckon it a tenth part of the annual subsistence of yourself and family, unless you purchase it from the Incumbent of your parish : all the bargains you make with your landlords are made with the full knowledge of you and your landlords, that the produce of the grounds you become tenants of, is liable to this duty ; you take it subject to it. It is therefore (to say no worse of it) a flagrant injustice in you, to withhold this tenth, or any part of it, from the Incumbent of the parish ; and you ought to pay it, in the first place, before your landlords rent ; because the title of the Incumbent to it, is of a much more ancient date, and better established, as well by common as statute law, than the title of your landlord to the rent. But such reasoning would ill suit with the views of this projector ; who in another part of his pamphlet, to shew his contempt of the established Clergy, and his settled design
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of levelling them with the vulgar, stiles them *Manufacturers of Tithes*; and their convening their parishioners to make compositions with them for their Tithes, a *Tithe market*; and declares, that the meeting of the landholders of a parish, one day in a year, for the purpose of agreeing with the Incumbent for the purchase of the Tithes of their respective farms, is the cause that drunkenness, riot, and dissipation universally prevail amongst the peasantry of this nation; as if there were *no fairs, horse-races, cock-fightings, hurling-matches, patron-meetings, holy wells or mass houses*, to attribute their drunkenness and concomitant vices to.

So much for this projector, his scheme, and his pamphlet, published by a Popish Printer. I proceed now to consider, whether it is practicable, consistent with justice and reason, to substitute any fund, for the subsistence of the Parochial Established Clergy, in the place of Tithes. And first, I must lay it down as an axiom: that it would not be consistent with reason or justice, to substitute any fund, for the support and maintenance of the Established Clergy, in lieu of Tithes, which would be subject, in process of time, to annihilation; or continual diminution, (equal in effect to annihilation,) by the continual decrease of the value of money; this conclusion, I hope,

hope, I have already fully proved, from this it will follow as a Corollary : that it is not consistent with reason and justice, to allot a certain sum of money, admitting of no increase, to be hereafter annually paid, as a maintenance for an incumbent, and his successors, in lieu of Tithes, because the value of money is continually decreasing, and the Established Clergy, by such an allotment, would, in process of time, be reduced to beggary. After the most attentive consideration of this subject, I have been able to find out but one mode of substituting a maintenance for the Established Clergy in lieu of Tithes, which is in any measure, reconcileable to the principles of justice and reason ; this mode, is certainly within the bounds of possibility. But I must confess, I much doubt, or rather despair, of its practicability, or in other words, the probability of its ever being carried into execution, on account of the passions, prejudices, irreligion, injustice, and immorality of the age we live in, and a radical deficiency in the scheme itself, which I cannot say, meets my own approbation, on the principles of justice, but is suggested on the score of expediency alone, the Established Clergy certainly, if it should be adopted, must surrender a great part of their legal rights, but they will still find a subsistence, perhaps a scanty one, but not subject

ject to continual decay, and at length to annihilation, by the operation of time. The scheme is shortly this, that the twentieth part of the land of every parish, estimating as well the quantity, as the quality, of the ground, be set apart for the maintenance of the incumbent, and that the land so set apart, shall be for ever considered as glebe land; that the incumbent shall have no power of leasing it, for a longer term, than during his own incumbency: and that the land, so set apart, shall for ever remain the property of the incumbent, and his successors, for his and their maintenance in lieu of all Tithes, which are for ever to cease. There are two objections, which, I foresee, will be made to this scheme, on the part of the laity; the first objection is, that the disability of the incumbent, to make a lease of the land so set out, for a longer term, than his own incumbency, will discourage the Tenants of such land, from improving it: and the twentieth part of every parish will be thereby left, in a less improved state than the nineteen parts, to the general impoverishment of the nation; and to support this objection, the example of the estates of the bishops will be adduced, which are said, to be less improved, than lay estates, merely, because bishops are, by law, disabled from making any leases of their several lands,

lands, for a longer term than for twenty one years. To this objection, I answer, that throughout a great part of England, the tenantry are mere Tenants at will, and have no leases whatsoever : and that in all the country parts of England, long leases are utterly unknown, a lease for the term of twenty one years, being there considered as a long lease, yet the industry of the English Tenants, and the improvement of the country, are not a whit diminished ; and as to bishop's grounds, the true reason why they are not more improved, is not, because the tenure is short, for they generally remain in the same family for ages ; but because the bishops are impowered to lease their lands for the term of twenty one years only, reserving a rent not less than half the value of the land demised, and they therefore demise the land, reserving a rent of half the value, and take fines on the renewal of every lease, in lieu of rent, amounting to the other half of the value : and their tenants therefore decline to make lasting or valuable improvements on their estates, for fear, as the value of the ground would be thereby increased, that the bishops would demand larger fines on each renewal, but by this scheme, the incumbent is empowered to lease during incumbency only, and if he should take a fine on the making of such a lease,

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as he has no power to renew, the lease expiring with his life, he can never receive a second fine, and consequently can have no opportunity of exacting a larger fine, than the first, for a renewal, and therefore the lands allotted for the support of the Parochial Clergy, will not be less cultivated than lay estates; though it should be admitted, that the estates of bishops are so. The second, and the grand objection, which I suppose will be made, on the part of the laity, to this scheme, is, that the allotment of the twentieth part of the land of the kingdom to the support of the Established Clergy, who with their families, amount to a very small part of the community at large, is infinitely too great a provision for them, and more, than they are, in reason, intitled to. This objection I shall very fully consider, and, I think, as fully answer, and refute. And first, it is necessary to promise, that one third at least of all the Tithes of the kingdom are impropriate, and are lay estates; consequently the Established Clergy, would have, under this scheme, only one twentieth part, of two thirds of the kingdom, that is one thirtieth part of the lands of the whole kingdom, allotted for their support: the rent of this thirtieth part, when set, could not annually exceed, as I have already shewn, one half of the value of the produce of it, when

when cultivated by the lessees; so that the annual subsistence of the Established Clergy, calculated to the highest penny, would, or rather might, amount, to one sixtieth part of the value of the annual produce of the land of the whole kingdom. The gains, annually acquired by the community at large, by manufacturing the annual produce, after it is severed from the earth, by arts, professions, trades, commerce, and the product of personal estates, together with the rents of houses in cities and towns, must amount annually to at least three times the value of the annual produce of the earth, throughout the kingdom; so that the sum to be allotted for the maintenance of the established Parochial Clergy, according to this scheme, throughout the kingdom, (exclusive of what is allotted for their maintenance, in a few cities, and which, if brought into the calculation, would make no very material difference) would amount to the two hundredth and fortieth part of what is annually received by the whole community at large, for their subsistence. The parochial established Clergy of this nation, amount to about one thousand, and as none of them can be priested, before he attains the age of twenty-three years, we may suppose, as the fact really is, that they are mostly married men, and we

may, by a gross calculation, conclude, that they and their families, who are to be supported by this Maintenance, amount to four thousand. The inhabitants of this nation are generally supposed to amount to about two millions and a half, the present established Clergy and their families amount therefore to the six hundredth and twenty-fifth part of the whole community, and will have, by this scheme, a greater annual subsistence, by the head, than the members of the community at large, in the proportion of about two and a half to one, or something more. In the community at large are included all ranks and conditions of men, women and children, from the beggar to the first nobleman. The number of the poor and indigent, of the artizans, and husbandmen, and their families, and in short, of all those who procure a livelihood by their labour and industry, infinitely exceed the number of the rich and opulent, and were the whole annual income of the community at large, to be divided into equal shares, between all the members of the community at large, the whole annual portion of the artizan or peasant, on such a division, would not exceed by more than a third part what he now annually acquires by his labour; from whence it will follow, if this scheme were carried into execution, that the established

tablished parochial Clergy throughout this kingdom, would thereby obtain, one with another, a subsistence for themselves and families, greater, in a proportion of three or at most four to one, than a common artizan annually acquires for the subsistence of himself and family. When it is considered, that Clergymen of the established church are many of them the younger branches of the best families; that they all receive a liberal education; that they must support the rank of gentlemen; that the sacred office they are employed in, requires that they should be raised somewhat above indigence, were it for no other reason than to prevent the contempt which usually attends poverty from falling on them; that they are, by the nature of their employment, precluded from acquiring a livelihood in any other manner. That as the miraculous interposition of the Deity, in furnishing the Apostles, and others, the first propagators of the gospel, with a subsistence, has long since ceased, it is absolutely necessary that some fund should be appropriated for the support of the Ministry. It is to be hoped, that no reasonable christian of the established church, (for to such only I address myself) will think such a maintenance for the parochial established Clergy, as they would be entitled to, by the carrying this scheme

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into execution, too ample. But, if any such should be found, I must remind them, that I have, in a former part of this address, proved, that the number of the Parochial Clergy of the Established Church, in this kingdom, is utterly inadequate, not only, to the further propagation of the reformed religion, amongst our infatuated and bigotted countrymen, but even to the maintenance of the footing, which the true faith has, by the special providence of the Almighty, gained amongst us ; that the maintenance and propagation of it, require, at least four times the number, and that the insurmountable difficulties hitherto attending the collection of that fund, by law appointed for the subsistence of the ministers of the gospel, had, as yet, precluded every possibility of augmenting their number ; and that if the Established Parochial Clergy shall be thought to be too amply provided for, under this scheme, their numbers may be augmented by the dissolution of unions of parishes, heretofore made necessary, by the scantiness of the provision, the iniquity of the times limited them to, in despite of law and reason, and that their number, even quadrupled, will be no greater than necessary, for the service of God in this kingdom, and then the provision of each, under this scheme, will be liable to no im-

impeachment, on the score of its being too abundant.

The justice of this scheme cannot reasonably be objected against, on behalf of the laity, either Landlords or Tenants. For the Established Parochial Clergy are now by law entitled, to one tenth part of the annual produce of the lands, in which is included the labour and expence of the Tenants in raising the crops ; as well as the intrinsic value of the land, which I have already shewn, to be annually, of not more than one half of the value, of the annual produce, that is, that the annual rent payable out of land to a Landlord, ought not to exceed, one half of the value of the annual produce. Now in lieu of this tenth of the produce, this scheme will intitle the incumbent of a parish, only to one twentieth part of the land, that is, in fact, to that, which in value, will be only equal, to one fortieth part of the produce, so that the annual produce of the tenants farm, will be only diminished, by a fortieth part ; whereas, as the law now stands, and as it has stood for ages, this produce is to be abridged a full tenth part : and his farm was let to him subject to such abridgment ; and the rent of the Landlord will still remain the same, and must rather increase, than diminish, on a new letting, for the remaining nineteen parts will be
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tithe free, and, as I have already shewn, will let for more than the whole, subject to the payment of Tithe. As to the Parochial Clergy of the Established Church, I confess, it is impossible to convince them, that this scheme is a just one, because it is not so : perhaps, they may consider it, as expedient, when they reflect, that justice cannot in this age, be expected by them : and that they have been, for a series of years, so worried by every kind of fraud and knavery, practised on them by the Farmer, and so plundered and persecuted, by open violence and robbery ; that their maintenance, as I have already shewn, is reduced from a tenth, to an eightieth part, of the annual produce of the lands ; they will, under it, receive one fourth part only, of what they have been hitherto legally intitled to ; but they will receive it without litigation and strife, and they will no longer labour under the continual apprehension, of being put to the cruelest tortures or massacred by a savage banditti in the day ; or burned in their beds at night, by nocturnal incendiarys : and it will amount to more than they have, for some years, been able annually to rescue, from the gripe of outrage and plunder. To conclude this head, this scheme will secure a permanent, though a poor, subsistence, for the Established Parochial Clergy, not subject
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to continual decay, from the diminution of the value of money, nor to dissipation, by the avarice or injustice of successive incumbents. The value of lands always bears an exact proportion, to the value of the necessaries of life, when they rise or diminish in price, the rents of lands encrease and diminish also : and, under this plan, no lease can be made by an incumbent to the injury of his successor.

I hope that no person, from what I have here thrown out, respecting this scheme, for substituting a mode for the support of the Clergy of the established church, in lieu of Tithes, will imagine, or, at all conclude, that this scheme meets my own approbation. I am fully sensible of the injustice of it, with respect to the Clergy ; I have only mentioned it as the last resource to be resorted to by them, in case the iniquity of the age, combining with the power of their enemies, should compel them to embrace any expedient which may offer, to protect themselves from utter extirpation, and the light of the gospel, from final extinction in this devoted country ; distressed mariners, unable to save their ship from being dashed to pieces on shoals and rocks, are obliged to lay hold of the smallest plank, to save themselves from being swallowed up by the raging ocean. With this view alone, have I brought forward the hint of such

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a scheme; my zeal for the interests of religion and the state, has induced me to indulge myself with some faint ideas, that it might be, in the last extremity, practicable; though I can plainly see difficulties almost insurmountable, against the execution of it, in any event: and I clearly perceive, that it would strongly tend to illaquate the Clergy in the secular employment of farming, and cultivating their own lands, for the purpose, of thereby increasing their scanty subsistence, to the prejudice of their studies, and the interruption of their labours in God's vineyard, contrary to the canons of the church of this nation, and even to an act of parliament * now in force in England; which I mention to shew that our English ancestors thought the Clergy ought not to be impeded, by the laborious exertions of farming and tilling the earth, from attending to the more important duties of their holy function, which has indeed been the opinion of all good christians, in all ages, and was a principal reason of allotting Tithe for their support, the tenth part of the produce of the cultivated earth, which they were to receive, without being drawn off from their attention to their duty, by being obliged to attend to the cultivation. I am further impelled to
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* 21st Henry VIII. chap. 13. sect. 2, 5, & 8.

apologize to the established Clergy of this nation, for having even suggested so inadequate a commutation for their Tithes; from observing how different the conduct of the English nation is to their Clergy, in allotting the quantum of the commutations, which there, at sometimes, take place, for Tithes. In all bills enacted by the British parliament, for inclosing common fields, a full seventh part of the land inclosed is allotted to the incumbent of the parish in which such fields lie; the English parliament being therein guided by justice, knowing that one-tenth part of the annual produce of cultivated land, payable for ever, is more valuable than one-tenth of the same land uncultivated, or to be cultivated by the possessor.

The *fifth general head* of this address, to wit, that the methods of recovering Tithe, by the law of the land, as it now stands, from those who unjustly withhold or subtract it, have been devised with great equity and moderation, and are neither vexatious, oppressive, nor expensive, will admit of a very short proof, that of merely reciting the law in that particular, and it would have been entirely unnecessary, to have adduced any proof of it, particularly in respect to those, who are even moderately skilled in the law of the land, had not the author of the pamphlet

already often mentioned ; and other scribes, equally ignorant and malicious, raised a clamour against, what they stile the *vexatious and expensive litigations of a bishops court*. By an act of parliament passed in this kingdom, in the seventh year of his present Majesty, it is enacted ; That for the future, before any citation shall issue, under the seal of any ecclesiastical court, in any cause for subtraction of Predial Tithes, a petition or complaint in writing, shall be lodged in the registry of such court, in which shall be inserted, all the Predial Tithes then due, by the person so to be cited, so as that no second suit, shall be commenced against the same person, for any such Predial Tithes, which shall have become due before that time : and a copy of such petition or complaint, attested by the register of such court, shall be served upon the party so to be cited, along with the copy of such citation, which citation shall also contain an intimation to the party so to be cited, that whether he shall appear, at the time and place appointed, or contumaciously absent himself, the judge of said court, will nevertheless proceed in a summary way, to hear, and finally determine, such cause, upon the day assigned by such citation, provided that the time assigned in such citation, for the appearance of the party so to be cited, shall not be sooner

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er than thirty days, after the date of such citation, and that the same shall be served, together with the copy of such petition or complaint, within three days after the date of such citation, in such manner, as citations are usually served in other cases, in said courts; and upon the return of such citation and intimation as aforesaid, and due proof made of the service thereof, with such copy of such petition or complaint as before directed, by oath in writing, on the back of such citation, or annexed thereto, sworn before the judge of the court from whence the same issued, it shall be lawful for the said judge thereupon to proceed in a summary way, to hear and determine such cause, by examination of witnesses *viva voce*, and such other legal proofs as shall be offered to him on behalf of either of the parties, and to give final sentence thereupon, either in the presence of the party so cited and intimated, or his proctor, if he shall appear, or in pain of his contumacy, in case he shall absent himself, and to adjudge costs to the party, who shall prevail in such suit, not exceeding one pound six shillings and eight pence. The statute then proceeds and enacts, that no subscription, of advocate or proctor, shall be necessary, to the petition, that no exception shall be admitted to it for want of form; that both parties may appear without proctors: that

that the determination shall be according to justice only, without regard to form, that neither judge nor register shall have any fees, that on refusal to pay the sum adjudged, as the value of the Tithes subtracted, within fifteen days after the party is served with a monition for the purpose, the recovery shall be by civil bill, if the sum is under twenty pounds. That on the hearing of such civil bill, a copy of the monition served, under seal of the court out of which it issued, and proof that it was served, fifteen days before the hearing, shall be sufficient and conclusive evidence of the sum due. That it shall be lawful for any defendant sued by civil bill, under that act, to give in evidence any matter or thing subsequent to the sentence, in the ecclesiastical court, which may be sufficient, either in law or equity, to discharge him of the whole of the sum, decreed against him by the sentence of that court, and that the defendant, as to such matter, shall be at liberty to examine the plaintiff, or his known proctor, on oath, giving reasonable notice of such his intention. Now from examining this law, which is the law, under which all Predial Tithes must be sued for in ecclesiastical courts at this day ; it will appear that no law whatsoever could be framed, the effects of which would be more expeditious, or less vexatious, and expensive
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to the litigant parties. So far as the ecclesiastical court is concerned, in the execution of it, neither the plaintiff or defendant need to employ either advocate or proctor, agent, attorney, or counsel: the petition, on which the whole proceeding is grounded, is to contain nothing, but an account of all the Tithe due, consequently may be drawn up even by a country school master: and must comprehend all matters, relative to the Tithes, in dispute between the parties, so as to prevent multiplicity of suits. The defendant must have a copy of this petition, and the day of hearing must be signified to him, four weeks before the hearing of the cause, so that all surprize is cut off; and he has a reasonable time to determine, whether he will contest the suit, or pay the demand: and if he shall determine to contest, to prepare for his defence: the whole hearing must be finished in one day, the day of appearance: and the witnesses on both sides must be examined *viva voce* in open court: no particular form of pleading is to be observed, nor are any exceptions to be admitted, on that account: no costs, exceeding one pound eight shillings and six pence, can be given on either side. The defendant, if the sentence is against him, has his appeal saved to him by the act, and he has fifteen days, after he is served with a monition for that purpose,

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to pay the sum decreed and the costs, which if he neglects to do, he is suable by civil bill only, for any sum he may be condemned in under twenty pounds: and neither the judge, or register of the ecclesiastical court, is to receive any fees whatsoever, upon the occasion, nor even advocate or proctor, unless the parties think fit to employ them, and then too, their fees are in the discretion of the parties, and in general there is no occasion for their assistance. Do such proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, merit the epithets of vexatious and expensive litigations? It must be admitted, that in no courts of justice in the world, is relief given with greater ease, greater expedition, or less expence to all parties, than is given by the ecclesiastical courts of this kingdom, under the wise and moderate provisions of that account.

The sixth and last part of this address, must consist more of conclusions and inferences from the preceding parts of it, than of any new proofs or premisses; and I trust I shall be able fully to execute what I proposed to myself in the sixth head of my discourse, as mentioned in the beginning of it, and to which I refer the reader; but more particularly to demonstrate, that our religious establishment is the main pillar of our constitution, and that it cannot be pulled down
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without the ruin of the whole structure of our government. I have already, I hope, fully proved that Popery is the root from whence the present insurrections spring. The insurgents are all Papists, their manifestoes proclaim them to be so, their Priests openly read them at their altars, their mass-houses are their places of rendezvous, where they bind themselves by solemn oaths to execute their designs, and the extirpation of the Protestant established Clergy, and consequently of their religion, is the object of their confederacy. Some particular events and circumstances have, at this time, caused the fire of these discontents, hitherto smothered, to break out into a blaze; the first and principal of these are, *the hasty and improvident repeal of the most important parts of that code of laws, called Popery laws*; and particularly of that part of them, which forbid the acquisition of freehold property by Papists; by the first alteration made in this system of laws, Papists were empowered to take leases of lands at any rent, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years. This alteration allowed Papists the acquisition of estates, equal in durability and profit to the estates of Protestants; but it did not allow them, or their tenantry, to become freeholders. Liberty to acquire landed property, and security of it when acquired, were not

the only objects aimed at by Papists; they wanted power and the privilege of intermeddling in the government and legislation of this Protestant state. And in a session or two, after they had been indulged with the first alteration, they procured a second, empowering them to acquire landed property in fee simple. The last alteration has already given them great weight in county elections for members of parliament, for though by the present laws, they are themselves disqualified from voting at such elections, yet such of their tenantry as are Protestants and freeholders, are under their controul, and must vote as they direct, and several Papists now command the votes and interest of considerable numbers of Protestant freeholders in the several counties in this kingdom; and by degrees, in this state, in which by the operations of commerce, landed property is fluctuating, their numbers will enable them to secure to themselves such a landed property, that they will acquire a vast influence and weight in the constituent body, and consequently in the constituted; or in other words, in the House of Commons, so, that if their principles, would permit them to wait patiently for a revolution in their favour, the operation of time alone would effect it. But this view of future aggrandizement is so far from inducing them
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to expect patiently their slow, but certain, advances to power, that it has the same effect on them, the view of the game has on a pack of hounds; and they are determined to seize it by immediate insurrection and outrage. Another circumstance which has much contributed to the present disturbances is, *the vast number of Papists in this kingdom, who have lately armed and regimented themselves, under the denomination of Volunteers*; they have not only intermixed themselves with Protestants, in several bodies of Volunteers, but have formed distinct bodies themselves. And even in the city of Dublin, the Popish Volunteers, under the insulting denomination of the **IRISH BRIGADE**, greatly outnumbered all the other Volunteers. This they have done with impunity, though as the law now stands, a Papist, being convicted of carrying arms (and the proof of his being a Papist, is his refusal to take the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation) is on the first conviction to be fined fifty pounds, and imprisoned one year; and on a second conviction, to undergo the penalties of a *Præmunire*, the severest penalties, next to death, inflicted by our laws. The Papists have thus experimentally found, that the laws are not executed, that they are only bug-bears to

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frighten children, and conclude that they may as safely violate the laws in other particulars, and subvert the Established Religion, and that being armed and disciplined they are able to effect their purposes by downright force. Cromwell, one day conversing with Whitlock his chancellor, on the expediency of his assuming the title of king, was told by him, that he could never support himself on the throne, for that nine parts in ten of the people would be against him. The sagacious usurper thereupon observed to him, that he could notwithstanding support himself, by disarming the nine, and putting the sword into the tenth man's hand, how would he smile were he now alive, at the folly of our modern Protestant Irish Patriots, who having the sword in their own hands, and being in number, when compared with the Papists, in the proportion of one to sixteen, put their swords into the hands of these Papists, for the protection of their liberty property and the Protestant Religion. Another reason that these insurrections have broke out in this last summer, is, that a bill, was (to say no worse of it) very hastily and improvidently, introduced into parliament, in the course of last session, purporting to be a bill for the protection of the persons and properties of the Clergy of the Established Church. The gentleman
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who introduced this bill, was not commissioned to do so, by any of the Established Clergy of the nation, that I can find, nor did he introduce it in concert, or after previous consultation, with any considerable body of them ; and if with any of them, with a very small number ; it is very difficult to guess, what induced him to introduce such a bill, a few of the Established Clergy in the diocese of Cork, had suffered in their properties, and some threats had been thrown out against their persons, in consequence of some disputes between them and their parishioners, previous to the introduction of this bill, but the laws then in force, if executed, were fully competent to their relief and security, and this bill, to treat it in the mildest manner, was unnecessary. There are men in the community, possessed by an unquiet pragmatistical spirit, which, when it takes possession of a legislator, is the occasion, not only of excrescencies, but of confusion, in our statute code. The bill was ill digested, had many exceptionable clauses in it, and if it had passed into a law, would have been the occasion of mischief and inconvenience, instead of advantage, to the Clergy : it luckily miscarried, in the house of commons, and never was introduced into the house of lords : during the debates on this bill in parliament, some ill-weighed reflections,

tions, and which, on examination, would have been found to have arisen from mistake and mis-information, were thrown out on the Clergy, and their Proctors, respecting the collection of Tithe, it was asserted by one gentleman, that the Clergy were the most litigious men in the community, for that they were plaintiffs in more civil bills at the assizes throughout the kingdom, than any other description of men. But had that gentleman considered, that by the common practice throughout the kingdom, the incumbent, when he agrees with a parishioner to sell his Tithe to him for a certain sum of money, is not paid the money, but accepts the parishioner's note for it, payable in one year after the date: that he is under the necessity of accepting three or four hundred of these notes, in the course of a year, that the parishioners, as I have already shewn, are averse from paying any Tithe whatsoever, that as well the amount of these notes, as the sums decreed to an incumbent, in an Ecclesiastical Court, when he sues for subtraction, must be recovered by civil bill at the assizes; I am persuaded he would be convinced, that his deduction of the litigiousness of the Clergy, from their being frequently obliged to sue by civil bill, was unwarrantable. As ill-founded were the reflections thrown out in the course of
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of that debate, on the Clergy, for employing Proctors, in the collection of their Tithes. It is impossible for a Clergyman, to attend to the duties of his profession, and at the same time, go through all the labour of collecting his Tithe throughout his parish; it is to be collected mostly by crowns and half crowns, from two, three, or four hundred persons; it must be valued, and agreements for the sale of it must be made. With much more justice, might a clamour be raised, against gentlemen of landed property, for employing agents in the setting their lands, and collecting their rents. The debates however on this bill, were all inserted in the several Newspapers, and no reflection on the Clergy was omitted; the Newspapers in this kingdom, as I have already observed, being mostly published by Popish Printers. The Bill itself, was intituled, a Bill for the protection of the Persons, Houses, and Properties, of Rectors, Vicars, and Curates, actually resident in their parishes, or in any one of them. These debates, and the miscarriage of a bill, with such title, spread like wildfire through the kingdom; some men of great weight, and in the confidence of Government, were represented in the publications of these debates, as having spoken very hardly of the Clergy, and their Proctors, and as having accused them of exaction in the collection of their Tithes.

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The Papists immediately concluded, that this was their time to commence hostilities against the established Clergy, and that they would be countenanced, or at least connived at by Government; and instantly broke out into open outrage and violence; and formed a solemn league, and covenant against the Church established.

I have already, I believe, fully proved, that the aim of the Insurgents, is the extirpation of all the Clergy of the established Church, the consequent proscription of the Protestant Faith, and the translation of all the Tithes of the kingdom, into the hands of the Romish Priests. It is evident that the implements they have hitherto used to effect their End, have been Torture, Fire, and Sword; for notwithstanding their diurnal meetings have been, as yet, generally unattended by any direct assaults on the Clergy, or their Agents: yet, when any person has presumed to act contrary to their Manifestoes, he has been murdered, maimed, or put to the Torture in the night, and his property consumed by Fire or otherwise destroyed. No Government under the Sun, regulated by a system of laws, would act wisely in repealing any one of those laws, or in making any alterations in them, at the requisitions of desperate insurgents, who demand the repeal or amendment of the ancient laws of the state, at the point of the Sword; if such government
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had the power of reducing them to obedience to the laws, because such is human nature, that the common people in every state, are ever ready to pull down their superiors, and they never want incendiaries to inflame their passions, men who aim at procuring power and riches, by putting themselves at the head of parties, and making the mobility ignorant tools of their ambition. If a government were weak enough to submit to the demands of these demagogues, supported by open rebellion, they would only ensure the speedy dissolution of the state, because the insurgents would not fail to attribute their success, to the weakness of the state, which would only encourage them to make further demands, spread their influence, and multiply their adherents, amongst the commonalty; till at length, like a mountain torrent, swelled by a thousand auxiliary streams, they would overwhelm the society. If this reasoning will be found applicable to every civil society throughout the earth, how much more strongly does it apply to this realm. This kingdom is one limb of a mighty empire, the Established Religion throughout this empire, is the Protestant reformed Religion, and the members of it generally profess that faith, at least a great majority of them. In this kingdom however, the mass of the people

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profess the Romish Faith, and are attached to it with a most extraordinary degree of bigotry ; and not content with the toleration of their superstition, numbers of them rise up in open rebellion, fall on the Established Clergy throughout the kingdom, with an avowed design of extirpating them ; complain that the support settled for this Clergy, by the laws of the land, is a publick grievance ; and openly demand, that this Protestant state shall enact laws, to abridge, (that is, as I have already shewn to annihilate) this maintenance, and consequently root out the Established Clergy, and the Established Religion. They proceed even further in their factious requisitions, and demand, in effect, the destruction of all impropriations, that is, that the payment of all Tithes, which, since the dissolution of monasteries, have become lay property, under the charters of the crown, and have been purchased from the crown for valuable consideration, which amount to one third of the Tithes of the whole kingdom, shall be abolished, though they compose great part of the estates of several of the nobility and gentry, settled by family settlements, and conveyed by purchases for valuable considerations, from generation to generation, now for upwards of two centuries, insisting, at the point of the Sword, on the abolition of
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the Established Religion, and the destruction, as well of the patrimony of the church, as of the private estates of a considerable part of the community, in direct violation, not only of all the rules of the municipal law, but of natural justice and equity. It is impossible, that any state, can submit to the dictates of such a handitti, from any motives, except those of weakness and fear. And should they be complied with, see what consequences must follow. First Popery will become the established religion, for I have already shewn, that the Tithes wrested from the present established Clergy will be paid to the Popish, and the Tithes wrested from the lay impropiators will be paid to the different societies of Friars, to whom they heretofore belonged, and who still preserve at Rome, and elsewhere, exact records of their former possessions, as well lands as tithes: the people finding government too weak to maintain the religion of the state, or even private property, will rise in their demands, and require the repeal of all laws yet existing against Popery or Papal usurpation: they will then remember, that their ancestors lost their estates by having committed repeated acts of rebellion, (which however they always cloaked, under the pretence of supporting their religion, that is Popery, and which the bulk of the people

ple believe to be the case) and particularly by maintaining an obstinate rebellion, the cause of a prince deposed from the throne of this realm, within the course of this century, for endeavouring to subvert the Protestant religion, and establish Popery: and which estates are mostly now in the hands of Protestants: they will demand the restitution of all these estates, they will perceive that it is as much an absurdity in politicks, to have a Protestant Monarch over a Popish people, as a Popish Monarch over a Protestant people; and this their perception will be quickened by the principles of their religion, which teach them, that no allegiance is due to heretical princes, but that they may be justly deposed and murdered by their subjects, as the Pope commanded the English subjects to do by Queen Elizabeth, by his famous Bull of excommunication. They will therefore turn the cry of *Vox Populi Vox Dei* upon our present agitating patriots, and demand a Popish Monarch, and a repeal of those laws, which disable Papists from inheriting the crown of these realms: they will then attempt to sever this kingdom from Great Britain, by setting up a Popish prince for their king, perhaps one of the Sardinian or French houses, excluded from inheriting the throne, for being Papists, by the present laws: the brave
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and loyal Protestant inhabitants of Great Britain, will not admit a Popish prince to sway their scepter, nor will they be easily debauched by Popish incendiaries, and their hellish doctrines of deposition, and murder, from their allegiance to our present glorious Sovereign, and his Family; but will support his rights in this kingdom by their Swords: thus will a Civil War between Great and Ireland arise; in which are faithless and ambitious neighbours, the French will not fail to take a part, and such a War (which may the Almighty God avert) must end, either in the final reduction of Ireland, by the Sword of our lawful Monarch, and the exemplary punishment of restless, insidious, faithless, Popish Rebels, or in the destruction of Great Britain; which must involve the Ruin of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of Europe. And in any event, this devoted nation, must feel the Scourges of the Almighty, Famine, Pestilence, and the Sword; and be again, as it has oft before, by the same means, and from the same causes, reduced to a Desert: I will not hesitate therefore to pronounce, that any Man who shall attempt to support, abet, or countenance, the pretensions of the present Insurgents, is an enemy to the British Empire, and particularly to this kingdom; to the indissoluble connection,
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which it is necessary should subsist, between Great Britain and Ireland, to our glorious Constitution, to the reformed religion in general, but particularly to the religion established in this kingdom, and a Traytor to his Sovereign. I cannot better conclude this long address, in which I trust I have proved the notorious injustice, and the ruinous consequences, of complying in any shape with the flagitious demands of the Insurgents, than by inserting an extract from a speech, made in the famous long Parliament, by the celebrated Mr. Waller the Poet, dissuading that assembly, from complying with the demands of a riotous and clamorous Mob, for the abolition of prelacy, and the seizing of the Estates of the Bishops, in that famous Æra, when

Oyster Women locked their Fish up,
And trudged to Court to cry no Bishop.

The extract is to be found in the life of Mr. Waller, written by Doctor Samuel Johnson: and the whole speech, as there inserted, contains strong arguments to prove, that Legislative Bodies, ought not to be prevailed on, rashly and unjustly, to encroach on the Property of the Subject, by the Clamours of the Dregs of the People, raised by the Arts of the Factious
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and Ambitious. The extract is as follows :

“ I see some are moved with a number of hands
 “ against the Bishops ; which, I confess, rather inclines
 “ me to their defence : for I look upon Episcopacy as a
 “ counterfoarp, or out-work ; which, if it be taken by
 “ this assault of the People, and, with all, this mystery
 “ once revealed, *That we must deny them nothing, when they*
 “ *ask it thus in Troops*, we may in the next place have as
 “ hard a task to defend our Property, as we have lately
 “ had to recover it from the Prerogative. If, by multi-
 “ plying hands and Petitions, they prevail for any equality
 “ of things Ecclesiastical, the next demand perhaps may be
 “ *Lex Agraria*, the like equality in things Temporal.
 “ The Roman Story tells us, that when the People be-
 “ gan to flock about the Senate, and were more curious to
 “ direct and know what was done, than to obey, that
 “ Commonwealth soon came to ruin : their *legem rogare*
 “ grew quickly to be *legem ferre* : and after, when their
 “ Legions had found, that they could make a dictator,
 “ they never suffered the Senate to have a Voice any
 “ more in such Election.”

Nothing now remains, my Lords and
 Gentlemen, but to assure you, that the
 person who addresses you, is a Layman :
 and he takes the liberty of subscribing
 himself,

Your devoted Servant,

THEOPHILUS.

The following is a Copy of a Letter addressed by the Right Hon. SILVER OLIVER, from the White-boys. see p.16.

To obviate the bad impression made by the calumny of our enemies, we beg leave to submit to you our claim to the protection of a humane gentry, and humbly solicit yours, if said claims shall appear to you founded in justice and good policy.

In every age, country, and religion, the priesthood are allowed to have been artful, usurping, and tenacious of their ill-acquired prerogatives. Often have their jarring interests and opinions deluged with Christian blood this long devoted isle.

Some thirty years ago, our unhappy fathers, galled beyond human sufferance, like a captive lion vainly struggling in the toils, strove violently to snap their bands asunder, but instead thereof rivited them to more tight.—Exhausted by the bloody struggle, the poor of this province submitted to their oppression, and fattened with their vitals each decimating leech.

The luxurious parson drowned in the riot of his table the bitter groans of those wretches that his proctor fleeced, and the poor remnant of the proctor's rapine was sure to be gleaned by the rapacious Priest—but it was blasphemy to complain of him; Heaven we thought would wing its lightning to blast the wretch who grudged the Holy Father's share. Thus plundered by either clergy, we had reason to wish for our simple Druids again.

At last, however, it pleased pitying Heaven to dispel the murky cloud of bigotry that hovered over us so long—Liberality shot her cheering

cheering rays, and enlightened the peasant's hovel as well as the splendid hall—O'Leary told us, plain as Friar could, that a God of universal love would not confine his salvation to one sect alone, and that the subjects election was the best title to the Crown.

Thus improved in our religion and politicks, we could not but acquit the legislature of former severity to a description so long misled by an ignorant and disaffected clergy—we resolve to evince on every occasion the change in our sentiments, and hope to succeed in our sincere attempts—we examine the double source of our grievances, and debated long how to get them removed, until at length our resolves terminated in this general peaceful remonstrance.

Humanity, justice, and policy, enforce our request—whilst the tithe farmer enjoys the fruit of our labour, agriculture must decrease, and while the griping priest insists on more from the bridegroom than he is worth, population must be retarded.

Let the legislature befriend us now, and we are theirs for ever; our sincerity or the warmth of our attachment, where one professed, was never questioned, and we are bold to say, no such imputation will ever fall on the Munster peasantry.

At a very numerous and peaceable meeting of the Delegates of the Munster peasantry, held on Thursday the 1st of July, 1786, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz.

Resolved, That by the common rights of mankind, the aggrieved are warranted to seek for redress.

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Resolved,

Resolved, That our grievances are daily accumulating through the avarice of the priesthood and intolerable exactions of the tithe farmers, to the decrease of agriculture and population.

Resolved, That we will continue to oppose our oppressors, by the most justifiable means in our power, either until they are glutted with our blood, or until humanity raises her angel voice in the council of the nation, to protect the toiling peasant, and lighten his burden.

Resolved, That the fickleness of the multitude makes it necessary, for all and each of us, to swear voluntarily not to pay priest or proctor more than as follows :

	s. d.		s. d.
Potatoes, 1st crop,	6 0 per acre	Baptism	1 6
Doitto nd	4 0	Each Family	
Wheat —	4 0	confession	2 0
Barley —	4 0	Par. Priests	
Oats —	3 0	fun, mass	1 0
Meadowing	2 8h	Any other	1 0
Marriage	5 0	Extreme	
		Unction	1 0

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Signed by Order,

WILLIAM O'DRISCOL,

Secretary General to the Munster peasantry.

